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## Our Legacy from a Century of Pioneers\*

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My purpose in this address is to consider certain aspects of our American life and society, growing out of the fact that we are now a mature country. This may not seem to any of you a novel statement, yet the bearings of it have scarcely been recognized by any element or group of our leaders in opinion or in statecraft. We have been so long accustomed to regard ourselves as a young country and a pioneering country, that we have not attained unto the recognition, as a matter of national consciousness, of the meaning in a synthetic, full way of a great number of facts which we recognize in their separate aspects.

Every one knows, for example, that we now make far more products of iron and steel each year than any other nation; that our agricultural output is more extensive than that of other lands; that the mileage of our railroads far exceeds that of any European country; that our population is larger than that of any other nation of white men excepting Russia; that our educational system is more extensive and widely diffused than that of any other large nation, and that in many material regards and in some intellectual and moral aspects, ours appears to be the most highly favored of modern countries.

These things, indeed, might all be true; and yet such might be our extent of area and of undeveloped resources, and such might be many other practical conditions, that it could still be said that we were, relatively speaking, in the

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pioneering stage of our progress and our civilization. And here let me say that I do not for a moment mean to imply that the relative maturity which I affirm is in any manner to be thought of as a stagnant, or passive or unchanging condition,—for just the contrary of this is what I think to be true.

The stages of development upon which we have now entered in our mature national period are more complex and more profound than those of the pioneering epoch, and they involve a higher degree of activity in every sense of the word. It would be inaccurate, and therefore useless to fix any exact date as marking the transition from one period to another in the history of civilization in any country whatsoever. We may say, if we choose, that our pioneer period ended with the Spanish War, or with the nineteenth century. There are localities, assuredly, in which it has not yet come to its end. But I am speaking in broad and general terms. The colonizing period had begun with the first settlements, that of Virginia almost three hundred years ago, of Massachusetts a little later, and of your own State in a scattered fashion along its tidewater frontage at a time almost as early. This colonial period we regard conveniently as having ended with the attainment of independence by the colonies and their federal union.

So slight had been the westward movement, before the Revolutionary War, of the pathfinders and wilderness hunters like Daniel Boone, that the exceptions only mark the main fact that it was not until well after the war that what we may call the pioneering period had fairly set in. Almost the entire population of the United States in the Colonial and Revolutionary period dwelt within easy access to the seaboard or to tidal streams. It was after that period that the movement toward the West took on so great a volume and so remarkable a character from the standpoint of American history and of the making of our national life.

If you would know your own country in its most essential things, you must study the movement by which the descendants of our old, original commonwealths spread themselves across the continent through a period of a hundred

years or more, beginning, let us say, about 1785. Kentucky was admitted to the Union in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, and Ohio in 1803. Northern New England, Western New York, Western Pennsylvania, and the Western valleys of Virginia and North Carolina were undergoing pioneer development in this same period. Indiana and Illinois in the North, and Mississippi and Alabama in the South, came into the Union in the period from 1816 to 1819, then Maine followed in 1820 and Missouri in 1821. Louisiana, meanwhile, had been brought into the Union in 1812 under obligations incurred in the purchase from France of the great central tract of the country. These are familiar dates, and I mention them only as incidental to the endeavor to impress upon your minds the marvelous spread of the American family away from the seaboard to the Appalachian valleys and through the mountain gaps to the great timber lands of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, and to the warm alluvial soils of Alabama and Mississippi. These men and women not only founded new communities beyond their home States, and so brought new States into the Union, but they also developed the interior and Western parts of the States which formed the original group.

While this first great Western movement was mostly made up of Revolutionary soldiers, or the descendants of those who had belonged to the American colonial period, there also came a welcome and important stream,—though not a vast one,—of men from the British Isles, including the Scotch-Irish, who have played so important a part in the making of the Appalachian region and the States contiguous to it. And the pioneers might be said fairly to have laid a dominating hand upon the affairs of the whole country, when Andrew Jackson had become President, or certainly after we had fought the Mexican War, and had brought Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan into the Union, with Iowa and Wisconsin following Texas. The admission of most of these States came in a very early stage of their settlement, and the pioneer process of felling the forests, creating farmsteads, building roads and towns, and establishing institutions, was still very far from complete when the era of rail-

road building had begun and when there was reached in our history the momentous period of the great Civil War.

Let me say a few words about the pioneers who had made the country as it was before 1860, and then something about that amazing outburst of energy—transmuted into material progress—that exhibited itself through the thirty or forty years after the North and South laid down their arms and gave themselves once more to the task of making the country great.

In all history we can discover the records of no better or braver people than the men and women who subdued the American wilderness in the period from 1790 to 1850. They prepared it to be the home of millions of people speaking the same language and possessing the same kind of civilization, and they left to America a noble heritage of hope, courage, and faith. Our ancestors beyond the sea, whether from England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Germany, or whatever other European land, may have been of humble origin, or they may have been of educated or even of aristocratic lineage. We are willing indeed to know anything about them that we can find out.

But after all, for Americans it will always suffice to trace their ancestry back to the earliest of their forefathers who crossed the seas and cast in their lot with the makers of this new world. Very many, perhaps a majority of the English nobility, do not record their pedigree for more than one or two centuries. We, on the other hand, have a great population in this country of men and women who can clearly trace their descent from ancestors who had a part in creating our Eastern colonies two hundred and fifty years ago.

Some of these people, of this lineage so creditable, and for which they are so justly grateful, still remain, as here in North Carolina, in the old seaboard States. But the vast majority of them are scattered all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. This again is in itself a fact familiar to you, yet have you fully realized its significance? What other country can you find that has been made in the same way,



by the spread of families across a vast unoccupied territory, in such a manner that they have never lost their sense of kinship, and have carried with them all their ideas and all that is essential in the institutions that grow out of their associated life.

Where today are the sons of North Carolina? While the movements of migration have been mainly along parallel lines westward, there has also been a fanlike radiation; and the sons of North Carolina, as of Virginia, have helped to make Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas notably, while they have helped also in lesser degree to make many other States. And few of them or their descendants have ever forgotten the family beginnings in the old home State.

Thus, one of my own great-grandfathers, as a young man after the Revolutionary War, sold his land in North Carolina and crossed the mountains to Kentucky. Subsequently he made one more advance and passed over the Ohio River to become one of the pioneers in the settlement of the Buckeye State. To illustrate in this personal way the movement of population in that period, another great-grandfather from the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania passed down the Ohio River and also settled in Kentucky, subsequently going in like manner to Ohio. At just that time the men of Eastern Massachusetts were moving northward to develop Northern New England, westward to Northern and Western New York, subsequently to Northern Ohio, and so on across the Northwestern States, where New England influence became so predominant. Of these sturdy people from New England who did so much for the making of the country north of the 40th parallel of latitude, the same thing can be said as of the men of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas who developed the country south of the 40th parallel. They spread across the country, recognizing themselves as belonging to one great American family.

Thus, there are some of us whose own kith and kin have so scattered and advanced in the pioneering process that relatives in some degree are known and recognized in perhaps twenty States of the Union, from the Eastern seaboard all

the way to California. And this has had to do, more than almost any other one thing, with the solidarity of the American people. We know how brightly burned the early lights of aspiration and intelligence and character in Virginia, and the Carolinas, as well as in the Middle States; and we know that Tocqueville spoke justly when he referred to the far shining of the beacon of New England's enlightenment.

Yet the country became great not by the mere radiation of influence from the older centers, but by the actual transplantation of the men and women who embodied the best of our early ideals and who gave added strength and vigor to what was characteristic of America in the healthful though often dangerous and painful experiences of the subduing of the wilderness and the making of new communities.

Mark the difference in this regard between our American population and that of any other country. England is not large in area, and its people are generally regarded as homogeneous in their insularity. But as a matter of fact the populations of the different parts of England are scarcely at all acquainted in any other part. Thus the Yorkshire man would only by the rarest chance have a relative living in Kent or Cornwall. The intimacy between North Carolina and Missouri, for example, is incomparably greater than that between one part of England and another part. In like manner the people of the north of France know very little of those of the south of France, or even of those living in districts not at all remote. Exactly the same thing is true of Italy and Germany, and it is characteristic of almost every other European land. As compared with other countries, we in America are literally a band of brothers, spread to the number of millions upon millions across a vast continent, and our characteristics have been formed very largely in contact with the problems we have had to solve in this transcontinental march of subjugation.

All honor to the strong men and brave women who floated down the rivers on flat-boats and crossed the mountain passes with ox-teams and antique wagons. While they were not all equally fortunate, most of them had the wisdom and good judgment to build their cabins and make

their abiding places where the soil was rich, the rainfall equable, the climate wholesome, and the geographical situation certain to give permanence and continuity to the work of their hands. When they cleared the valley lands, they knew that the conditions were such as to give long and abiding prosperity to their new neighborhoods and to justify their descendants in remaining and in keeping alive the memories and traditions of the pioneers of the early part of the nineteenth century.

They were large-minded people, who from the very first were determined to possess good churches, good schools, and a home life made the more dignified and refined by good houses and substantial improvements. They were people of high ideals and unbounded self-respect. Surely Nature was lavish in her gifts to this beautiful, productive region that lies west of the Alleghanies and south of the Great Lakes.

There are, indeed, other fair and rich countries, some of them fairer and richer than this, that lie desolate today because they have lacked the right kind of men. They have needed but have not found men with brawn and brain and heart to wrest wealth from the soil, to utilize the forces and bounties of Nature, and to plant those seeds of social life and of religious and political institutions that count for more, after all, than fields of waving corn and golden grain.

So much for the two generations of frontiersmen who were creating commonwealths between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River in the first half of the nineteenth century. They had, indeed, their peculiarities and their crudities. Read, if you please, with due amusement, Mrs. Trollope's "Domestic Manners of the Americans," Dickens' "American Notes" and his "Martin Chuzzlewit," Baldwin's "Flush Times in Alabama;" but these pictures of pioneer times in the West and South tell only a little part of the story. It was surpassingly wonderful, if the full truth were known, how the best ideals of life were cherished, maintained, and transmitted in thousands of log-cabins west of the Alleghanies.

Then came the decade before the Civil War, of gathering political clouds, of financial disaster, and of moral and

social reaction. And then the great convulsion and struggle, born of a period when the harsh voices of passion and wrath were too loud for the gentler counsels of brotherhood and forbearance. I have no further word about that period, excepting such as relates to the influence it had upon the further pioneering development of the country.

The war destroyed vast resources and sacrificed hundreds of thousands of brave men, but it also awakened such masterfulness, such power of achievement, in its survivors—and these were the great majority of those who participated—as the world has never seen and may never again experience. Remember that the war was fought on both sides for the most part by very young men. Your colleges in the South were closed because the students all went to the war. I am a graduate of a northern college that also closed, because every student in it went to the front.

When the war was ended there were on both sides major-generals who five years before had scarcely entered upon the careers of men. There were many hundreds of men on both sides who had commanded brigades or full regiments, yet who were at the end of the five years' struggle still mere striplings in their twenties. But they had seen such stern and terrible reality,—they had faced danger, carried responsibility, and exercised power under such circumstances,—that they could not by any chance relapse to the mental stature of ordinary, inexperienced men. They must perforce do great things. Just as the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 had built up a generation of masterful men, who settled the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, so the events of the Civil War awakened in the sons and grandsons of those men, and of their kinsfolk of the eastern seaboard as well, a power which was bound to find expression in some great history-making processes. If we had been essentially a military nation, these men might have sought conquest to the northward in view of our claims against England, and to the southward under pretext of the expulsion of French and Austrian invaders and usurpers. But the armies were disbanded, and the million or two of young men who had been tried in the fiery furnace of war set

about making careers for themselves in a land where swords were beaten into plowshares.

Then followed for two or three decades the great movement west of the Mississippi. The men who had fought in the war turned their engineering and organizing and directive talent to the building of a vast network of railways, to the opening of mines, and to the exploitation of forests. They became the leaders in our political life, the captains of our industry, and the Napoleons of our finance. They brought hundreds and thousands of millions of dollars of capital from Europe to aid in the development of the virgin West. Where the prairie grass was growing and the buffalo herds were flourishing, they planted the wheat and the corn and the cotton. They found a vast export market for American grain and fibre and meat, and they built high, and kept high, the protective-tariff wall in order that they might create diversified manufactures and commercial centers in our own country to consume the food products and raw materials of the agricultural West and South. They were not always refined in their methods; their materialism was crude and insatiate; but they did wonderful things and they left us many a perplexing legacy as a result of their eagerness and—sometimes—their lack of scruples. They invented a new way to develop the western country, pushing their railroads far beyond the frontier line, then bringing the population to settle upon the imperial grants of land they had obtained from the government.

While our American boys were pushing west to occupy the rich, virgin soil and grow up with the country, millions of immigrants were persuaded to come from Europe, settle on the land, help build the railroads, work in the mines, and provide labor for the factory towns. To hasten the development of the Pacific coast, Chinese laborers were brought in by the scores of thousands. And so the great movement went on until we discovered, not so long ago, that the so-called western frontier of Indians and cowboys, and the thin edge of pioneer advance, had disappeared. Whether by honest settlement or whether by trickery and fraud, all of Uncle Sam's good farm lands had been made over to pri-

vate owners. By the force of economic conditions, farm lands west of the Mississippi River had become more valuable than those of Ohio or Western New York, or of Pennsylvania or Maryland. The new West had been built up by money borrowed from Europe and the Eastern States. We suddenly awakened to the fact, that this new West had become rich and had paid off Europe and the Eastern States, and was able not only to capitalize its own further development for itself in the main, but was from time to time sending money, by way of Chicago and St. Louis, to New York to support the general money market and the operations of so-called high finance.

When the West was poor and struggling and absolutely dependent upon the railroads, there were long and stubborn political agitations of an agrarian character, directed against the tyranny of the corporations of transport and supply. And there were also formidable political movements having to do with money and the standards of value growing out of the fact that the West was prevalently a debtor region and would not tolerate an appreciating standard of value. But when the West had paid off its mortgages and had accumulated its own capital, these phases of social and political agitation belonging to the pioneer period had a tendency to disappear.

All the conditions of American pioneering were such as to create a wonderful spirit of individuality, independence, and self-direction in the average man. Never in the world has there been anything to equal this development of personality, and this capacity for private and individual initiative. And I must dwell upon this point because it is at the very root of the problems that we have to deal with,—now that we have completed the pioneering stage and entered upon the next stage—that of a buoyant, progressive maturity.

Several conditions were in conjunction to give to Americans during the past forty years immense capacity for self-direction and individual achievement. First, there was the traditional spirit born of early conditions and the Revolutionary contest; second, there was the freedom begotten of contact with Nature on a great scale in the subduing of a con-

tinient. The average American boy had grown up with a gun in his hand, and he knew the woods and the native animals. He had learned to swim his horse across swollen rivers, and to face all sorts of practical emergencies. Furthermore, he had developed under conditions of entire political and family freedom, and still further, he had grown up in a land naturally bountiful, where there was ample incentive to effort, and where there did not exist any laws or conditions which might dishearten the individual man because tending to deprive him of the fruits of his labor.

Furthermore, although later we carried on our industry and commerce under conditions of a tariff that somewhat discouraged traffic with the older countries of Europe, it is to be remembered that we maintained absolute free trade among ourselves. Thus, although protectionists as against the rest of the world, we were free-traders over a larger contiguous area of developing country, and were in actual practice living under freer conditions for the large development of business, than any other people in the world.

Thus it was the later pioneer period after the war, which built the transcontinental railroads, created the agricultural west, developed the iron and steel production and the textile industries, afforded such opportunities for the acquisition of wealth as had never before been known. Great fortunes began to emerge, because opportunities were continental rather than parochial. The private career in that materialistic age offered inducements so far beyond any that a public career could hold out to ambitious men, that private initiative and private interest became dominant. Governmental and public activity and interest became relatively weak and neglected.

And so the pioneer period having ended, we are left with some profound social and economic problems which may in their solving perplex us, but which need cause us no deep-seated anxiety, certainly no pessimistic foreboding. Let us look at some of the conditions we find existing in the country and some of the tendencies of the new period.

First, with respect to conditions of population: The old hives east of the Alleghanies no longer send their sturdy



sons westward to identify themselves with new communities. The tendency has become almost too slight to be discernible. Neither are the sons of the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi moving in any strong stream to make home and fortune in the newer regions of the West. "Westward Ho!" is no longer the cry. There is, indeed a more discernible movement northward and southward. From a general region of which Iowa may be taken as the center, there is a movement of young men to the new wheat lands of the far Canadian Northwest, and there is a decided movement of older men to the more genial climatic conditions of Louisiana and the Southwest.

As for young men who seek business or professional careers in cities, New York now calls more strongly to the ambitious young men of the West and South than Chicago or the other western centers call to the ambitious young men of the East. In short, the westward pioneering and developing trend of our American population is at an end. Some reaction has set in, and eastern land that had been neglected and had become relatively cheap has a tendency to fall into the hands of western men. The most marked change in the status of population, however, is that which has built up the cities and industrial centers at the expense of the villages and the country communities.

And next to this, the most marked change is the decline of the old native population in New England and in other parts of the East. If it were not, indeed, for the influx of a vast European population to supply the demand for labor caused by the falling off of the native population, it would be seen that New England, and some other parts of the country as well, are not merely at a standstill like France in point of population, but are declining to a point threatening extinction.

Wealth and industry, indeed, served by foreign-born labor, seem in no danger of declining in New England. But the decadence of once beautiful and famous villages, and the relapse to wilderness conditions of what was once a well-tilled country, are indeed pathetic. Not long ago, I was wandering over the rock-ribbed pastures of a New England State.



At best, the thin covering of soil seemed only a few inches deep. In lieu of fences, the tiny fields were separated by massive granite stone walls, blasted and hewn out of the solid rock, or else heaped up with giant boulders by those Yankees of prodigious industry a hundred years or more ago. They raised poor crops, those hardy farmers, but they planted churches and schools, and they produced men and women. These are the real tests of the greatness of a community or a State.

If in the same spirit of devotion and courage those New England pioneers had perchance made their farms on richer soil, they would have been none the worse for it, and the results in a local sense would have been more enduring. They built up men and women for the glory of the nation and the peopling of prairie States yet unborn. But in thousands of instances their farms, so painfully redeemed from forest and from rock, have now relapsed to a state of wilderness where some gnarled old apple-tree, in the very thick of a dense growth of scrub oak, birch, spruce and pine, reminds us that here were once cleared fields and orchards, thrifty homesteads, men who plowed and women who spun, all for the glory of God and the greatness of the American name.

Only a hundred years ago—or even seventy-five years or fifty years ago—these were tidy, decent farms. Today they are lost in mile after mile of tangled young forest, where the fox dwells, where the wild deer has come back, and where even the wolves and panthers have reappeared. Of course, within a few miles there are thriving manufacturing towns, and there is progress along other lines. But these manufacturing towns are made up of a new and strange population of polyglot origin; and in the lesser of the farming hamlets there remain few, if any, who would care to celebrate the one hundredth or the two hundredth anniversary of the neighborhood, or who possess either the knowledge, the reverence, or the personal interest to save the tombs of the stalwart forefathers from neglect.

With the growth of the factory towns, the decline of the villages of New England and other parts of the North and East is a most painful thing to consider. The life of a vil-

lage when it is stagnant and listless, and without the touch of idealism, is about the pettiest and worst of all possible kinds of life. The city, even with its darker aspects of misery and vice, stimulates the mind by its rush and roar, its external activities, and its ever-changing sensations and novelties. But the dull, dead rustic hamlet, where nobody cares for anything or believes in anything beyond the gratification of a few sordid, material wants, is in danger of sinking to a lower moral level than the slums of the great towns. And quite in contrast with conditions of a half century ago, we now find thousands of such depraved neighborhoods where fair skies shine on the scenes of natural loveliness, without seeming in the very least to lift up the minds and souls of men to noble thoughts and aspirations.

Assuredly we seem to be moving in a vicious circle. For, first, the present conditions of city life are not to be sought as a remedy and a refuge from decay and demoralization in the country districts; and, second, on the other hand, there is no such moral or social health in the villages and farm neighborhoods as would seem to invite a retreat from the urban centers of population.

Nor would it seem very encouraging to admit the fact that our own American stock is increasing scarcely any if at all, while our enhanced economic power as a nation is derived from the working energy brought to us by Italians and Poles, Russians and Hungarians, and strange peoples from many lands, with little or no kinship to us whether of race or ideals. And in addition to these conditions, there are the further problems of population in large parts of the country, due to the presence of the negro race. It is not only in the Eastern States that the decline of rural population has been marked and absolute, but the tendency exists even beyond the Mississippi River, where, for example, in Iowa there has been for many years a positive falling off in the population of the strictly country neighborhoods, with a marked increase in the railroad towns and the larger centers of population.

Here, then, are two sets of problems, pressing upon us at the same moment. The first of these are very urgent:—having to do with the way in which we must order the life of

cities and towns so that we may minimize the evils of population centers, while at the same time we derive a maximum of benefit from the opportunities for social welfare that are afforded where many people live and work in the same immediate vicinity. On the other hand, we have the pressing problem of the rehabilitation of country life, so that the farm may be less distasteful and so that the village community may be sweeter and happier in its life and less disadvantaged in its opportunities as compared with the city.

Fortunately, these two sets of problems do not antagonize one another, and it is better to view them as parts of a larger whole than as unrelated. It is not, then, the question of country life as against city life; but in both country and city it is a question of the larger use of modern opportunity, and the determined effort to do away with bad conditions. In a thousand ways, the life of the great towns is, actually, becoming ameliorated; and there are now standards and methods of scientific and social progress that are bringing about most salutary changes. Our cities were once the centers of epidemic disease, and the death rate averaged higher than the birth rate. This is no longer the case, for health administration has practically stamped out epidemics, and the harmful physical tendencies of thirty or forty years ago are rapidly disappearing.

The modern transit facilities of our towns and cities are distributing the population over suburban areas, and thus the city has a tendency to become countrified, while parks and libraries, improved schools, and facilities for recreation, make the life of the workingman's family a very much more comfortable thing today in a commercial center or factory town than it was a half-century ago or even twenty years ago. While the tendency has set in this direction, the opportunities for an improved life in the towns have only begun to be realized; and every educated young man entering upon his life career at this time, it seems to me, is bound to acquaint himself with these matters and, in so far as it falls to his lot, to help bring about the complete regeneration of the conditions of American life in the centers of industry and trade.

I do not believe that any of this work is to be accomplished by angry or revolutionary methods, and I am of the opinion that the calm, moderate application of remedies now understood by men of knowledge and skill in engineering or sanitary or administrative science can bring about the desired consummations.

When it comes to the problems of country life, we find a hopeful process of urbanization going on in the rural districts. Perhaps the greatest demand is for good, modern, up-to-date, centralized country schools, with well trained teachers who have a knack for making school work relate itself to the lives of country children. But in order to support such schools the State school fund will not suffice, and there must be ample local taxation. Yet if local taxation is to provide the proper facilities of schools, good roads, and other neighborhood conveniences, there must be something to tax. Farm land must become more valuable. It must produce better and more diversified crops. Water power must be utilized, and manufacturing must be brought into the neighborhood, where natural conditions make it possible.

And here let me say that the greatest triumph of the pioneering period in America has been the creation of a great body of capitalized wealth. This process must go steadily forward. It is true the poet warns us against those hastening ills which are sure to prey upon a country "where wealth accumulates and men decay." But in modern times men have been far more likely to decay under conditions of poverty than under conditions of wealth. The great economic achievement of the past generation has been the relative abolition of poverty. I take frank and straightforward issue with those who hold that the accumulation of great fortunes in this country has been simultaneous with the impoverishment of the masses.

Those great fortunes are merely in the form of tremendous agencies for the production and distribution at low cost of articles of common use and necessity. The larger these accumulations of capital engaged in production, the greater the output and the wider the diffusion of benefits throughout the whole mass of the people. I do not like to see the control

of these agencies of production vested so largely in the hands of a few individuals. I deplore those lax and uncontrolled conditions of private initiative, during the later pioneering epoch in this country, that placed in the hands of a relatively few men the control of the railroad systems, the coal, the oil, the copper, the iron and steel, and many other important products, processes, and industries, which engage the toil of the people and which produce the necessities and conveniences that are now making most of our people comfortable in their daily lives.

But although we might have avoided, if we had been wiser, so high a concentration of private control over the instruments of production, we have done a very great and beneficent thing in this country in creating so vast an amount of wealth in capitalized form. And it is this which is lifting our people as a whole from the degradation of poverty.

What we have then to do, while seeking for justice and fair play in the distribution of wealth, is to strive with might and main for the further production of wealth in order by the same process to emancipate such other communities as yet remain in the hard clutches of poverty. There are many such communities in the mountain districts of this and neighboring States. Let the water power be utilized to turn the wheels of factories, and let the capitalist be encouraged to come and give employment to labor. In turn, let the factories be taxed for the support of schools.

Encourage in every possible way the scientific knowledge of agriculture. There are States in the prairie regions of the Middle West where so intense is the interest in scientific agriculture, and so prosperous is the farming community, that the sons of physicians and lawyers and merchants in the towns are now attending the State agricultural colleges and crowding the classes in practical agriculture, with a view to becoming farmers of the new sort with a knowledge of soils and fertilizers and varied crop conditions. In one western State, within two or three years, the work of the agricultural college in showing the farmers how to select their seed corn has added perhaps from five to ten dollars an acre to the actual value of all the land of the entire commonwealth.

We are just at the beginning of agricultural development in this country. Having worked over and exhausted our soil from one ocean to the other, we are going back and learning the business of farming all over again, under permanent conditions. Across vast expanses of America the log-cabin period still continues. A better kind of country life and a new knowledge of the possibilities of agriculture must be made to change all this. There must now come a mature period of positive rural prosperity, following the lax and shiftless days since the first freshness of the soil was exhausted by the pioneers who made the clearings.

We must be willing to take lessons in agriculture from the thrifty farmers of France, from the rich tillers of small holdings in Holland and Belgium, from those sturdy men who maintain high intelligence and decent standards of life in the valleys and on the mountain slopes of Switzerland. We must find out how Denmark has rehabilitated its agricultural life, and the remarkable new things the farmers are learning to do in Ireland.

There is no reason why several million dwellers in the Appalachian highlands of America should always remain poverty-stricken, enemic, ignorant, and of primitive manners and ways of living. They come of a strong and virile stock, they belong all of them to the early pioneering epoch, they are Americans with the traditions of the past. Why should they not be great and dominant Americans of the future? With education, their sons and daughters show their good qualities with an amazing responsiveness. Economic development is what the Appalachian districts need, and all these modern processes must find their way into the hills, capital must be encouraged, the factory and the improved school must stand together as missionaries of social redemption. And so this vast hill country must become alive with a new hope and a new prosperity.

We live in an economic age, and we must not be afraid of it. The business career nowadays is the dominating one. The lawyer either becomes a business man, or becomes the adjunct of some business or corporate organization. The engineer, the architect, the men of various other professions

are simply the technical and special servants of a world intent upon business achievement. We could not make this situation otherwise, and we ought to strive to understand it and to bring it under proper control.

For your own Southern section, I firmly believe that the development of wealth is to be regarded as an urgent, fundamental condition for the meeting of many other problems of importance. I do not for a moment fail to see the pressing need of working for rules of law and of conduct that will bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth. But remember that you have not yet brought one-tenth of the possible results out of your soil, your mines, your forests, your water-power, your latent human resources of inventiveness and industry.

Do not then be too anxious about the distribution of wealth; or at least remember that we are still in a condition where, for many of our States and communities, the development, rather than the distribution of wealth, is still the foremost problem. I have never been an apologist for mere plutocracy and I hope I may never shut my eyes to any injustice in the methods by which an individual or a group of individuals may at times make unfair use of capitalistic or industrial power. But remember that no railroad can grow rich unless it serves a rich and prosperous country. And no industrial trust can create its multi-millionaires, excepting under conditions which also promote the diffusion of an incalculably greater quantity of wealth among millions of people.

Ours remains a democracy, and there are no class distinctions of rigidity as yet developed in the United States. We must not lose faith in our democracy, and we must remember that it must continue to find its support in the wide diffusion of character and intelligence. Having made our States in a pioneer fashion, we must now proceed to make them all over again on a new and a better plan, using the instrumentalities which the pioneer period has placed in our hands. We must cultivate the spirit of tolerance and moderation. We have no need to deal ruthlessly or by revolutionary methods with any of our great public questions. We must



be honest, diligent, faithful, and open-minded. We must not be afraid of the fair discussion of any question whatsoever.

We cannot see clearly into the distant future, but we can see many things that it is right to do in the present, and we can at least stand up and be counted on the right side. We can fall in with the marvelous new tendency for the improvement of farming and of the conditions of country life in every part of America, and we can at the same time give our sympathy, and so far as possible our aid, to every good movement that brightens the life of workers in factories and dwellers in towns and cities.

We shall have to make over again in a new way most of our educational methods, because we are educating the children for conditions of life so different from those that existed half a century ago. We must believe that culture and labor may go hand in hand. We must welcome the idealist, and understand that no progress could be made but for men and women who see visions of better things and strive to give their visions practical reality. We must not be afraid that harm will come from the lifting up of any man or woman or child, however humble.

We have a great problem in our Northern cities, caused by the influx of more than a million foreigners every year. To read a book like Upton Sinclair's novel, "The Jungle," makes one shudder with dread and a sense of horror. But when one sees thousands upon thousands of the children of these strange peoples in the public schools of New York and Chicago, knows their eager minds, their quick grasp of American history and their enthusiasm for American ideals, one learns that it is not by blood descent alone that we transmit those things that make up our stock of ideas and traditions, but that there is such a thing as training the children of Italians and Poles and Lithuanians, to a worthy American citizenship. In any case we have these people with us, and we must make the best of the problem. The right kind of education is that which fits boys and girls to live well the life which is their appropriate lot under existing conditions.

If you have any doubt about the value of education to any



human being of any race whatsoever, stop with your definition of the word. Most of the boys and girls of our recent immigrants must be plain, sturdy workers. Their education in the schools ought to keep this fact in mind every day, and ought not to alienate them from the hard tasks of ordinary life. Education today is the greatest problem that confronts our American statesmanship, whether North or South. The pioneering process was a sort of education in itself. The colleges, it is true, did their work fairly well, but a little experience in the district schools, plus a large experience in the school of life, produced most of our efficient men and women. In the new period we must consciously make our school systems minister to the solution of our social and industrial problems.

As citizens, we must now, more than ever, face our public responsibilities. As I have said, the pioneering century was that of an overweening private initiative. Shall the pendulum now swing to the opposite extreme, shall we become full-fledged socialists, shall government not only regulate and control, but shall it lay hold upon the instruments of production, and shall we all in our respective callings don the uniform of public service? I do not see why we need to face just now any radical solution. We must simply find a just and true balance between the authority of the government and the power of the law on the one hand, and the freedom and scope of private enterprise on the other.

Admitting certain principles, we must not be afraid of their application under new conditions. The function of the common carrier is a public one, and it is a sound principle that carriers should treat all citizens fairly and impartially. The founders of the Republic gave to the government the power to regulate interstate commerce. In so far as private initiative and great business interests have diverted the railroad system of the country from its true function, the government must find and force a remedy.

Another principle is well established, and that is the right of government, whether local or general, to protect the health of the individual or the family against dangerous conditions over which the individual has no power to act for self-protec-

tion. It is right that your local authorities should protect you in your home against the spread of infectious disease through the carelessness of your neighbors. And it is also right, if on the national and international scale the food supply is deleterious to health, that there should be some form of public intervention and protection. With the complexity of our more mature social conditions, these new problems present themselves one after another. They must be faced as they come up and must be solved honestly and intelligently.

Government will inevitably become more costly, because there will be more things in the future than in the past to be done collectively for the common benefit. And so, while trying to solve the problem, how to secure a more equal distribution of private wealth among citizens, we must also learn better ways to supply local and State and national governments with the revenues that they need for the carrying on of their increasing functions.

All these are not things for you to worry about, young men of Trinity College, but they are things for you to take an intense interest in. Do not shrink in fear from the problems before us. Do not lose faith in our people, or our country, or our institutions. But glory in the fact that you may all bear some part in helping to do the work of your generation; so that, as the pioneers before us saw the wilderness subdued and peopled, and gloried in the country's swift material progress you may live to see an intensive progress where the pioneer saw an extensive one, and may feel that you have helped in your day and generation to re-establish on firm foundations those things that have always belonged to the best ideals of American life.

## Lynching and the Criminal Law

BY JAMES WILFORD GARNER, PH. D.,

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The recent lynching at Tallulah, Louisiana, of a white man charged with murder, adds another case to the already long list of lynchings due to miscarriages or delays of justice, and affords further evidence of the truth of a very recent statement ascribed to Justice Brown, of the United States Supreme Court, that lynch law is the natural result of the failure of the courts to discharge their natural functions. A good man in a peaceful community had been murdered, the evidence against the perpetrator of the deed was overwhelming, he was arrested and after lying six months in jail was brought to trial, convicted by the unanimous verdict of a jury of his neighbors, and sentenced to death. Upon appeal to the Supreme Court of his State the verdict was reversed on a technicality, a new trial was ordered and a change of venue was granted. The second trial was interrupted by the death of a member of the judge's family and when the third trial was begun the defendant's counsel set up the plea of "double jeopardy," which the judge blunderingly sustained, in order, as he said, that the Supreme Court might pass upon the point involved before the beginning of a new trial. Thus after a delay of two years and three months the case had reached a point where it was to be disposed of on a mere technicality without reference to the question of the guilt or innocence of the accused. Disgusted and enraged at an administration of criminal justice which had come dangerously near being a farce, the friends of the murdered man took the law into their own hands, and, in attempting to deal out that justice which the court had failed to render, committed a still greater outrage against the community and the State. It was mainly the fear that he would escape on a technicality after lying four or five years in jail that recently led a Tennessee mob to lynch the negro Johnson after the United States Supreme Court had allowed him a right of appeal from the decision of the

State court. The lynching record for the last few years is full of similar cases.

The conviction is rapidly growing that the administration of the criminal law in most American communities operates in practice more to protect the criminal than the public. Judge Amidon, of the United States District Court for the district of North Dakota, in a recent address before the State Bar Association of Minnesota, said: "The administration of the criminal law has broken down. It is an unworkable machine. I know we convict men and send them to the penitentiary; but I state it here as a fair statement of the administration of the criminal law in America that if a man has the means to employ able counsel so as to make a fight, as we say, in the great majority of cases he can escape punishment for crime. The trial can be so protracted and enmeshed in such a complication of pleading and evidence as to result—not in every case, oh, no, but in the majority of cases—in error, which, under the pernicious doctrine of presumed prejudice, will nullify a conviction." A somewhat similar opinion was recently expressed by ex-President Andrew D. White, who declared in a public address that the United States is among all civilized nations the country in which the crime of murder is most frequently committed and least frequently punished. In proof of this statement Dr. White quotes statistics to show that during the last fifteen years the number of homicides has increased from about 3,000 to about 10,000 annually and that at the present time only about one in seventy-four suffers capital punishment. With nearly five times as many homicides in 1904 as in 1885 there were, according to Sydney Brooks, an English writer, who has collected statistics on the subject, only two more convictions (110) in the latter year than in 1885. From a table prepared by the *New York World* it appears that in 1905, of 295 persons held for trial on the charge of murder in New York, only five were capitally punished. Last year there were, according to the *Record-Herald*, 187 homicides in the city of Chicago, or only about 60 per cent less than the number reported for all Germany, with a population twenty-five times as great and one-half as many as England and Wales, with sixteen times as many inhabitants.

The cause of this apparent breakdown in the administration of the criminal law, according to Dr. White, is sham humanitarian sentiment, which seems to be on the increase, that society has no right to put murderers to death, and laxity of administration "by the facilities given to every sort of chicanery and by the influence of the petty criminal lawyers in our various legislatures."

Few things are more calculated to try the patience or vex the soul of one who watches the procedure of a criminal trial than the interminable delays which usually mark its progress from the first to the last stage of the act. First of all, there is the usual delay in bringing the case to trial—it is seldom less than three months, and frequently as much as a year. Recently in Milwaukee a man who was charged with an offense, the maximum punishment for which was only ninety days' imprisonment, was kept in jail ten months awaiting trial. On June 20 of this year he was released by the judge, who declared with just indignation, that it was nothing less than an outrage to thus deprive a man of his liberty. It would be easy to duplicate this case in almost every State of the Union.

After the case is called, days and sometimes weeks are consumed in impanelling the jury. Recently in Chicago eight weeks were consumed in selecting a jury to try a notorious labor union "slugger," the cost to the State aggregating about twenty thousand dollars. Hundreds of veniremen were examined. They were asked every conceivable question about their lives, their characters and their opinions, with a view to establishing a cause for challenge. With lawyers interested in delaying the trial the selection of the jurors proceeded at the rate of one and a half a week.

The selection of the jury, however, is usually fast sailing compared with the progress of the trial thereafter. Every step is hedged about with technicalities, many of which to the layman mean nothing, and all of which are designed to provide loopholes of escape for the criminals rather than to protect society against murderers. In some States if the judge neglects through oversight or other cause to charge the jury on every point involved in the case the attorney for the

defendant may move for a new trial. In others, if the judge charges the jury on points to which his attention has not been called by counsel, the defendant has the right of appeal. If the language of the indictment does not go into the most absurd degree of particularity in describing the circumstances of the crime—the time, the place, manner, character of the weapon used and other largely immaterial facts, the indictment will be quashed. In some instances the courts have thrown out indictments for the failure of the prosecuting officer to spell out in full the name of the State whose peace and dignity was violated—an omission which would be regarded as wholly immaterial by anybody but lawyers more interested in delaying than in enforcing justice and in encouraging rather than discouraging litigation. Not one indictment in a hundred prepared by a prosecuting officer fails to contain all the information necessary to enable the accused to prepare his defense, yet on account of the slavish adherence of both bench and bar to antiquated legal forms, with their useless tautology and verbiage a large proportion of indictments are quashed and the cases continued. Ingenious lawyers, who have bad cases, frequently refrain in the beginning of the trial from demurring to indictments which they know to be technically faulty, but after their clients are convicted they move for a new trial on the ground that the indictment was bad. Everyone who has observed the workings of the courts will doubtless recall instances in which cases have been continued from term to term on account of the inability of the State's attorney to frame a charge in which the piercing eyes of the opposing counsel could not discover technical flaws, until finally the popular demand for prosecution subsided and the prosecuting officer, through sheer worry or lack of interest, dropped the case and the accused was allowed to go free, although there may have never been any question as to his guilt.

It is somewhat strange that with a system of jurisprudence founded on that of England, and with a procedure essentially the same, the administration of criminal justice in American States should be attended by so much greater delay and uncertainty. Justice Brown, recently retired from the United States Supreme Court, declares that our criminal

courts are all wrong, and that so far as the administration of criminal justice is concerned we are generations behind England. Only a few weeks ago he is reported as saying, "One who has watched day by day the practical administration of justice in an English court cannot but be struck by the celerity, accuracy and disregard of mere technicalities with which business is transacted. One is irresistibly impelled to ask himself why it is that with the reputation of Americans for doing everything from the building of bridges over the Nile or battleships for Russia and Japan, to harvesting, reaping, plowing and even making butter by machinery, faster than other people, a court in conservative old England will dispose of a half dozen jury cases in the time that would be required here in dispatching one.

"The cause is not far to seek. It lies in the close confinement of counsel to the question at issue and the prompt interposition of the court to prevent delay. The trial is conducted by men trained for that special purpose, whose interest it is to expedite and not to prolong it. No time is wasted in immaterial matters. Objections to testimony are discouraged, rarely argued, and almost never made the subject of exception. The testimony is confined to the exact point at issue. Mere oratory is at a discount. New trials are rarely granted. A criminal trial especially is a serious business, since in case of a verdict of guilty it is all up with the defendant, and nothing can save him from punishment but a pardon from the crown. The result is that homicides are infrequent and offenders rarely escape punishment for their crimes."

Judge Amidon in the address to which reference has been made points out that the great fault in our legal system lies in the tendency to exalt matters of procedure over those of substance. Our criminal courts, he declares, proceed on the principle that the object of the trial is the avoidance of technical error rather than the meting out of justice. It has become a principle of American procedure, which is not recognized in England, that wherever error is found in the proceedings it will be construed as prejudicial to the rights of the accused, even though it may not be an error of substance, and although the record may not leave the slightest doubt as to his guilt. In every such case, therefore, the

decision of the lower court will be reversed and a retrial of the controversy ordered. The result of the whole proceeding in the trial court becomes largely a contest over errors—the effort of the defendant's counsel to get error into the record, if he has a hopeless case, and the effort of the court to keep it out. Thus the fundamental problem of getting at the merits of the case and obtaining a just judgment is sacrificed to a petty question of technical procedure.

After all the delays of procedure there are the uncertainties, the miscarriages, the outright failures which are inseparably connected with the jury system in the form in which it exists in America. Few things are more disheartening than the practical workings of the jury system as I have seen it in a crime-ridden community of one of our States. Ignorant jurors sat confused by the arguments of counsel over technicalities and legal distinctions; others slept while the lawyers argued their cases, and the court read its instructions; still others, selected through manipulations not generally understood outside the legal profession, had their minds made up before the trial began. Verdicts were rendered in the face of the evidence and notorious criminals, whose guilt was established as clearly as any fact can be established by legal proof, went free. Mistrials resulted from inability of jurors to agree and the cases were finally dropped. Not one criminal in five was ever convicted. Good citizens of the community lost faith in the courts, began to distrust lawyers as pettifoggers and naturally came to look with less aversion upon lynch law. On June 19 of this year the same court in New York city that sentenced a starving Bowery tramp to the penitentiary six years for stealing twenty-five cents, freed another man who pleaded guilty to the charge of selling merchandise, valued at \$100,000, which did not belong to him and the proceeds of which he appropriated to his own use.

There can hardly be any question that the jury system is one of the most serious obstacles to the efficient administration of the criminal law in the United States today. Secretary Taft in a recent address at Yale University called attention to the fact that the institution of the jury has been worshipped as a fetich in this country, but signs are not wanting



that a wide feeling of dissatisfaction with it is growing up, and that important modifications are imperatively demanded. Mr. Taft is of the opinion that in America the power of the jury has been unduly exalted at the expense of the judge, and that a more efficient administration of the criminal law could be secured by restoring to the judge some of the power he possesses in England, especially if unanimity of verdict is to be retained. Under the laws of most of our States the criminal judge is being more and more reduced to the position of a presiding officer of the court—a mere automaton with little judicial discretion. Judge John Gibbons, of Chicago, in a recent letter to the president of the board of Cook county commissioners, worried doubtless by the failure of a jury in his court to agree after being out thirty hours and which he was finally compelled to discharge, urged the substitution of a three-fourths verdict in the place of the unanimity requirement. A similar suggestion was recently made by Justice Ingraham, of New York, but with the added modification that the approval of the presiding judge should be necessary to the validity of the verdict. In Germany the concurrence of eight jurors out of twelve is all that is required; in France a bare majority suffices, while in the Netherlands, a country comparatively free from crime, jury trial does not exist at all. In fact, no country on the continent of Europe requires unanimity of verdict, and most of them are satisfied with a mere majority. In many of our States at the present time the unanimity requirement has been dispensed with in civil cases and in trials involving misdemeanors.

Still another sorely needed reform in the administration of the criminal law is an abridgment of the right of appeal, or at least a reform in the practice of setting aside judgments for immaterial errors of procedure. As Justice Brown has well said, the conviction of the criminal by a jury trial is really only the beginning of the effort to prosecute him.

The judicial procedure of no other country allows such a wide latitude of appeal, and, consequently, so many loopholes of escape for the criminal as does that of the United

States. It is possible for a criminal who has been convicted by the unanimous verdict of a jury and concerning whose guilt there never could be any doubt, to carry his case through the entire hierarchy of State tribunals up to the Supreme Court of the United States upon a mere technical error, such as no English or European court would notice. An examination of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court since the adoption of the fourteenth amendment will reveal the astonishing extent to which that tribunal is being made a court of appeal from the decisions of the State courts in criminal cases. Finally, when the case reaches the appellate court, the overtowering question is made to be not whether the judgment of the lower court was just, but whether there was error in the proceedings. Unlike the English judge, who never allows the great object of the trial to be obscured by petty refinements and hair-splitting distinctions, but who directs all his energies to getting at the merits of the case, in order to ascertain whether the judgment of the lower court was just, the American judge magnifies the importance of technicalities and reverses the case whenever error is discoverable, whether it affects the fundamental rights of the accused or not. The New York Court of Appeals is reported as recently reversing a decision on a trivial error and concluding with the following almost ludicrous explanation: "We regret exceedingly to reverse this cause, for the record leaves not the slightest room for doubt of the defendant's guilt; but the defendant was entitled to a trial by jury, and there is no telling what the jury would have done if this evidence had not been admitted."

As a result of the almost unlimited right of appeal is the frequent retrial of the same controversy—"the capital vice of American law." Judge Amidon states on the basis of an examination which he made that new trials are granted in 46 per cent of the cases brought under review in the appellate courts of this country as against  $31\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in England. A case in Illinois was recently reported as having been four times reversed by the Supreme Court of the State, and was then beginning its fifth journey for another review. A case

in Missouri is reported as having lately undergone a similar experience, and doubtless there have been many similar examples in other States.

The result of the conditions which I have described has been a deplorable decrease of popular confidence in the administration of justice and an alarming increase in the number of lynchings. Dr. Cutler, in his recent volume on "Lynch Law," estimates that within the last twenty years there have been something like 3,000 lynchings in the United States. In other words, the number of executions by mobs far exceeds the number of executions in accordance with due process of law. Such a record shows a reign of lawlessness in the United States unparalleled by that of any other civilized nation. In England, a country peopled by the same race as ours and having a system of law similar to our own, there has not been a case of lynching, I believe, within the memory of any man now living. How much this has been due to the Englishman's respect for law and authority and how much to popular confidence in the administration of justice by the courts it is impossible to say, but one thing seems certain, namely, that there are few occasions which could be said to afford a pretext, much less a justification, for the community's taking the law into its own hands, as we say in America. If there were greater swiftness of action and certainty of punishment by those agencies created by the State for the administering of justice there can be little doubt that there would be far less disposition among Americans to resort to the barbaric method of self-help, such as prevailed during mediæval times when the State made little or no effort to administer justice. There is more than a modicum of truth in Goldwin Smith's dictum that there are communities in the United States in which lynch law is better than any other. Everywhere in this country, North as well as South, the reign of lawlessness is spreading and conditions are fast becoming intolerable. No higher duty rests upon the bench and bar, a body of men in whom our citizens have always felt a just pride, than to use its powerful influence to restore the system of criminal jurisprudence to the plane which it occupies in other Anglo-Saxon countries and which will entitle it to the full confidence of the people.

## The Statistics of Lynchings

BY WILLIAM H. GLASSON,

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Accurate information as to the extent and character of the lynching problem is much needed by those who would deal with it intelligently and effectively. As in the study of other social questions, there is here a chance to call statistics into service. From the nature of the problem lynching statistics are not to be obtained from governmental bureaus, but from private sources. In any case the collection of such statistics with any degree of accuracy or fullness is difficult. Attempts have sometimes been made by interested individuals to investigate by letters of inquiry cases of lynching found reported in newspapers. But such investigators have usually failed to obtain satisfactory answers (or any answers at all) to their questions. So the best that can be done in collecting statistics of lynchings is to rely upon the reports published in some newspaper of known reliability and enterprise as a news-gatherer, verifying and correcting such reports whenever possible.

For about twenty-five years the *Chicago Tribune* has published at the close of each year an itemized summary of the crimes, casualties, suicides, lynchings, and judicial executions throughout the United States during the year. On the particular subject of lynching this review has included the following facts: The date of the lynching, the name of the person or persons lynched, with the color and nationality, the alleged crime which caused the lynching, and the town and State where the affair took place. Only the names of those who have suffered death by mob violence are included, no account being taken of attempted lynchings or of persons who were violently dealt with but not killed. This annual record published by the *Tribune* is the best available source of information on the subject.

Fortunately the *Tribune's* statistics have lately been subjected to a scholarly examination and analysis. Dr. James Elbert Cutler, of Wellesley College, has recently published a most timely and valuable investigation of "Lynch Law" in which he presents a thorough and readable account

of the history of lynching in the United States. Dr. Cutler's volume (Longmans, Green, and Company) is commended to the consideration of those who wish to gain trustworthy information upon the history of lynching, its attempted justification, and the remedies for it which have thus far been proposed and tried. We are especially concerned with the statistical side of the problem and are under great obligation to Dr. Cutler for the chapter in which he presents his verification, correction, and analysis of the *Tribune's* statistics through the year 1903. Some of the results of his work are here presented. Such additional statistics for 1904, 1905 and 1906 as are included have been courteously furnished to the writer by Mr. George P. Upton, one of the editors of the *Tribune*. He has, however, not indicated clearly whether his statistics for those years have reference to the number of lynchings or number of persons lynched. Since two or more persons are frequently lynched at one time, this distinction should be made in order to avoid misunderstanding and error. Completeness will hardly be claimed for the *Tribune's* statistics. However, a special effort has been made throughout the period included to secure fullness of the record, and without doubt the degree of accuracy is great enough to make the results fairly representative of actual conditions.

The following table of the number of persons lynched shows a gratifying decrease in recent years:

## NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED.

1882.....	114	1895.....	180
1883.....	134	1896.....	131
1884.....	211	1897.....	165
1885.....	184	1898.....	127
1886.....	138	1899.....	107
1887.....	122	1900.....	115
1888.....	142	1901.....	135
1889.....	176	1902.....	97
1890.....	128	1903.....	104
1891.....	195	1904.....	87
1892.....	235	1905.....	66
1893.....	200	1906 (to date).....	45
1894.....	197		
Total.....			3,535

Taking these figures year by year Dr. Cutler brings out the interesting fact that until recent years the number lynched was far in excess of the number legally executed. In the year 1892 more than twice as many were lynched as were legally executed. It seems possible that the recent increase in the number of legal executions may have influenced the decrease in the number of lynchings.

In studying the lynchings by the months in which they occurred, Dr. Cutler divides the country into Southern, Eastern and Western sections. There is little variation by months in the Eastern and Western sections, but great variation in the South. As a result of the consideration of the period from 1882 to 1903, it appears that fewest lynchings occur in the South in February. There is a steady increase in number each month until a maximum is reached in July. Then there is a marked decrease in August, the number remaining comparatively low until there is a considerable increase in December. In January there is a sharp decline. A possible explanation of the decrease in August is that the negroes are occupied with camp meetings and various religious exercises during that month and hence commit fewer crimes against the whites. The study by months of the causes of lynching shows that, on the whole, lynchings for crimes against the person are more numerous in summer than in winter, and lynchings for crimes against property are more numerous in winter than in summer.

During the years 1882-1903 there were lynched 2,060 negroes, 1,169 white Americans, 45 Indians, 28 Italians, 20 Mexicans, 12 Chinese, one Japanese, one Swiss, and one Bohemian. From 1882 through 1885 more whites were lynched each year than negroes. From 1886 to the present more negroes have been lynched each year than whites. The general tendency is toward an increase in the proportion of negroes lynched as compared with whites. The greatest number of whites was lynched in 1884. In that year 40 horse thieves and cattle thieves were lynched in Montana and 17 cattle thieves in Colorado. The lynching of negroes reached the highest numbers in 1892 and 1893, the figures being 156 and 155 respectively.

The following table shows the proportion lynched for various causes in the period 1882-1903:

IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY. IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

Cause.	Whites and Others.	Negroes.	Whites and Others.	Negroes.
Murder....	628 (49.2%)	783 (38 %)	321 (53.5%)	753 (38 %)
Theft.....	264 (20.6%)	101 ( 4.9%)	63 (10.5%)	96 ( 4.8%)
Rape.....	109 ( 8.5%)	707 (34.3%)	69 (11.5%)	675 (34 %)
Desp'r'dism	93 ( 7.3%)	20 ( .9%)	30 ( 5 %)	18 ( .9%)
Unknown..	89 ( 7 %)	90 ( 4.3%)	50 ( 8.3%)	87 ( 4.3%)
Min. offen's	52 ( 4 %)	208 (10.1%)	42 ( 7 %)	206 (10.3%)
Arson.....	31 ( 2.4%)	104 ( 5 %)	19 ( 3.2%)	104 ( 5.2%)
Assault....	11 ( .8%)	47 ( 2.3%)	6 ( 1 %)	46 ( 2.3%)

In making up the above table, rape has been made to include rape, attempted rape, alleged rape, and murder and rape, thus showing the full extent to which lynchings may be attributed to this particularly horrible crime. It will be observed that rape is responsible for but slightly more than one-third of the lynchings of negroes. Of the whites and others lynched for theft in the whole country, nearly 90% were lynched for stealing live stock. Murder is the most important cause of lynching with both whites and negroes. With negroes rape is second and nearly equal to murder. With whites rape is in third place and theft and desperadism are comparatively important. The proportion of negroes lynched for minor offenses is much larger than that of whites.

The following tables show the statistics of the number of persons lynched by States in the period 1882-1903:

NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED IN SOUTHERN STATES  
1882-1903.

	Whites.	Negroes.	Others.	Total.
Mississippi .....	39	294	1	334
Texas .....	114	199	11	324
Louisiana .....	34	232	19	285
Georgia .....	28	241		269
Alabama .....	46	198		244
Arkansas .....	60	139	1	200
Tennessee .....	49	150		199
Kentucky .....	64	103		167
Florida .....	19	115		134
South Carolina.....	8	109		117

	Whites.	Negroes.	Others.	Total.
Missouri .....	49	42		91
Virginia .....	21	70		91
North Carolina.....	15	48	1	64
West Virginia.....	19	27		46
Maryland .....	2	18		20
Total.....	507	1985	33	2585

NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED IN WESTERN STATES  
1882-1903.

	Whites.	Negroes.	Others.	Total.
Indian Territory (Oklahoma)....	73	7	15	95
Montana .....	80	1	4	85
Colorado .....	55	3	6	64
Nebraska .....	52	2	2	56
Kansas .....	34	17		51
California .....	29		12	41
Wyoming .....	37			37
Dakota (North and South).....	28	1	6	35
New Mexico .....	30	1	3	34
Arizona .....	25		3	28
Washington .....	20		6	26
Idaho .....	14		5	19
Oregon .....	15	1	3	19
Iowa .....	15		1	16
Alaska .....	4		4	8
Utah .....	4	1	2	7
Minnesota .....	5		1	6
Nevada .....	3		2	5
Total.....	523	34	75	632

NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED IN EASTERN STATES  
1882-1903.

	Whites.	Negroes.	Others.	Total.
Indiana .....	41	11		52
Ohio .....	10	11		21
Illinois .....	11	10		21
Michigan .....	7	1		8
Pennsylvania .....	2	5		7
Wisconsin .....	6			6
New York.....	1	1		2
New Jersey.....		1		1
Connecticut .....	1			1
Delaware .....		1		1
Total.....	79	41		120



# THE STATISTICS OF LYNCHINGS.

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## TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED 1882-1903.

	Whites.	Negroes.	Others.	Total.
Southern .....	567	1985	33	2585
Western .....	523	34	75	632
Eastern .....	79	41		120
Total.....	1169	2060	108	3337

The following are the statistics furnished by Mr. Upton for the years 1904, 1905 and 1906 to date:

States.	1904.	1905.	1906 (to date)
Alabama .....	5	3	3
Arkansas .....	17	5	3
California .....	2	0	0
Florida .....	3	1	5
Georgia .....	17	11	4
Idaho .....	1	0	0
Kentucky .....	4	4	1
Louisiana .....	2	4	6
Maryland .....	0	0	1
Mississippi .....	18	17	5
Missouri .....	0	1	3
Nevada .....	0	1	0
Ohio .....	1	0	0
North Carolina .....	1	1	4
South Carolina.....	5	3	4
Tennessee .....	2	3	1
Texas .....	4	11	3
Virginia .....	4	1	0
Wyoming .....	1	0	0
Indian Territory.....	0	0	2
Total.....	87	66	45
South .....	82	65	45
North .....	5	1	0
Negro .....	83	61	41
White .....	4	5	4

## CAUSES.

	1904.	1905.	1906 (to date)
Murder .....	36	34	17
Rape .....	20	19	19
Race prejudice.....	19	1	0
Murderous assault.....	4	4	4
Conspiracy to murder.....	2	0	0
Insults .....	2	0	1
Threats .....	1	0	0
Robbery .....	1	2	3
Kidnapping .....	0	1	0
Elopement .....	0	1	0
Informing .....	0	1	0
Mistaken identity.....	0	1	0
Unknown .....	2	2	0
Arson .....	0	0	1

The writer has taken the liberty of combining under rape in the above table Mr. Upton's figures for rape, attempted rape, murder and rape, and suspected rape.

Though about four-fifths of the lynchings of the last quarter century have occurred in the Southern States, the practice has prevailed to some extent in all sections of the Union except the New England States. Only a single case of lynching is recorded as having occurred in the New England States, that being in Connecticut in 1886. New York has had two persons lynched and New Jersey and Delaware one each. Excepting the border States of West Virginia and Maryland, North Carolina has had the smallest number of persons lynched of any State in the South. From 1882 to 1903 she had 64 persons lynched as compared with 91 each in Missouri and Virginia, the next lowest Southern States. On the whole, the results of an examination of the statistics are gratifying both as regards the decrease of lynching in recent years in the country at large, and, especially to North Carolinians, on account of the comparatively favorable showing made by their State. Recent serious outbreaks of lynching should not unduly discourage the friends of law and order, but rather stimulate them to renewed efforts to improve the conditions shown by the statistics which have been examined.

## Some Thoughts on Lynching

My theme in this symposium is to suggest and urge a way to *prevent* lynching. The plan which I suggest below involves the passage of a law for the suppression of lynching, and, perhaps, of amendments to the Constitution in some particulars, to make the law effective. Such a law should, I think, embody three distinct features:

I. In all cases of rape, or attempted rape, the Governor should be empowered to convene as soon as possible a special term of court, to be held in an adjoining county by a judge especially designated. When the woman testifies, all persons should be excluded from the court room, except the prisoner, the legal counsel, the jury and the officers of the court. In all such cases, the only ground of appeal should be the insufficiency of the evidence. The appeal should be made at once to the Supreme Court, if in session; and, if in vacation, to any one of the judges of that court, the appeal to take precedence of all other business, and to be promptly granted or denied. If the appeal is denied, the sentence should be executed within ten days.

Why this exceptional procedure in cases of licentious assault? Simply because the crime is the one great exception in the minds of our people. This is the crime that most stirs the passions of the people, especially under the social conditions of our Southern life. Therefore, orderly civilization demands that the matter shall be quickly settled. This is the one exception, which many good people make in regard to lynching, the one crime for which they excuse lynching. Therefore, we ought to treat this crime in an exceptional way. There is a feeling in the minds of men today that the law's delay and the technicalities of its procedure let loose many a guilty man; and for fear one guilty of rape should escape in a legal trial, they say, "let us lynch him and be sure that he is punished." The people can look with composure on a man's escaping punishment for any crime but this. Therefore, we should remove all such excuses for lynching.

The denial of appeal on technical grounds in this crime is a great exception in law to meet a great exception in fact.

II. Having removed every reasonable excuse for lynching, let us set our face and our law against the crime of lynching. Whenever a lynching occurs, the lynchers should be indicted by the grand jury of Wake county, and the trial removed to the capital of the State. The crime charged in the indictment should be murder, answering, as it does, to every legal definition of murder or treason being, as it is, an attempt to overthrow by violence the power of the State. The punishment should be death or confinement in the penitentiary for not less than ten years. The trial is to be held at the Capital of the State; because, first, the offense is a crime directly against the sovereignty of the State, and, secondly, the fear and sympathy of the neighborhood are thus prevented from defeating the ends of justice.

The punishment of lynching by law is absolutely necessary to its repression. It is a great crime against society; and for it a great punishment should be meted out. All honor to our Governor and to the judge and jury in Salisbury! If this part of my plan is carried out, such convictions will be surer.

III. This, the most important feature of the law, I would name, "The Responsibility of the Sheriff." Whenever a man is lynched, the office of sheriff of that county should immediately be declared vacant by the Governor, and the order given for a new election; and that sheriff should never after be eligible to that office. Four-fifths, I believe, of the lynchings are due to the inefficiency or to the negligence or to the lack of moral and physical courage in the sheriff. I am reminded of a sheriff, who, when he had lodged a man in jail for rape, went calmly off a mile away to his home for the night. The prisoner was taken out of jail that same night, and lynched. How often we read of sheriffs pleading with the mob, and, then,—standing aside. We all know what one determined man, sure of the right, can do with a mob. I remember the story of General Forrest, standing in the jail over a terrified prisoner, with a knife in his hand, swearing that he would kill the leader of the mob and then be killed

himself, before the mob could get the man. The resistless (?), respectable (?) mob slunk away like the coward wild beast that it is. I read some time ago of a jailer's daughter, beating back a mob from the doors of the jail by a plentiful discharge of buckshot.

The truth is, that it is not our best citizens who lead a mob. Does any one think that that penitentiary convict, the leader of the mob in Salisbury, would have advanced on the sheriff of Rowan county, if that sheriff had stood in the door of the jail with a loaded revolver in each hand, with the determination to shoot stamped on his face? It is the duty of the sheriff to be on the watch for any sign of lynching; it is the duty of the sheriff to outwit and avoid the mob, if possible; it is the duty of the sheriff to summon to his aid a posse of determined friends; it is the duty of the sheriff, if the worst comes to the worst, to face the mob before the jail, and to slay and die, before he suffers the law to be violated and the good order of the Commonwealth to be shattered. This is his high and solemn responsibility; and he and all others ought to be made to see and feel it by the law of the land. If the sheriff and the citizens did so appreciate his responsibility lynching would soon become a memory of past days.

ROBERT STRANGE,

Bishop of the Diocese of Eastern North Carolina.

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Absolute obedience to constituted authority is the security of republics. Disregard for law is the peril of governments. When for any cause the people lose confidence in or respect for, the administration of law, the very foundations of society become insecure. There is no protection for life or property. The rule of the mob and the unbridled fury of a clan, take the place of courts of justice. When this obtains, that which distinguishes a high civilization is surrendered, and all hope of a better day ruthlessly forfeited.

Many reasons have been advanced as apologies for occasional resort to mob violence. The vexatious delays in bringing offenders to final trial, the frequent and flagrant miscarriages of justice, the seeming discriminations of courts in

favor of the rich and influential, and the too easy reversal of criminal cases by the Supreme Court on trivial technicalities, are among the excuses given for the swift and terrible vengeance exercised by an outraged community. These are to be deplored, but they are not corrected by resort to lynch law. They are rather aggravated, and made plausible arguments for defendants in the most flagrant cases.

We must insist upon speedy and impartial trials. Every offender against the peace and dignity of the State should have the same fair trial and the same just punishment whatever his crime or color of skin. There should be no aristocracy in crime. A "white fiend" equally with a "black brute" should be speedily punished according to the forms of law. Racial and social lines have no place in courts of justice.

The strength of the English government is the nation's profound respect for law. The peril of America is disrespect for the majesty of law and growing contempt for its administration. Unless there is a speedy and wholesome revival of reverence for constituted authority in this republic, we are certain to see the sad day so graphically described in the gloomy prophecy of Lord Macaulay.

One chief cause of the alarming growth of the mob-spirit is the small politics of our day—the only stock-in-trade of the little demagogue. The man who panders to class prejudice, who seeks to inflame passion, and excite hatred, and whose mock-heroic courage is displayed in coarse and vulgar denunciation, is largely responsible for the rash conduct of young men. And the newspapers that make merry over lynchings—characterizing them as "neck-tie parties"—and laud the outlaws as defenders of society, are themselves educating the people to despise the decisions of the courts and to condemn the sanctions and imperatives of all law. The mob which lynches a negro charged with rape, will in a little while lynch a white man suspected of crime. That is the history of outlawry. It becomes more enraged with every outrage—more infuriated with every taste of blood. The mob that riddled the body of a negro who had killed

a white man, burned his wife because she followed her husband in his flight.

Every Christian patriot in America needs to lift up his voice in loud and eternal protest against the mob-spirit that is threatening the integrity of this Republic.

CHARLES B. GALLOWAY,  
Bishop of Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

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Lynching, mob-spirit, lawlessness, are in the blood of our people. Not many American citizens appreciate the inviolability of the State. We are not a fully civilized people. We are becoming civilized. Some are advanced; others are backward. In many the instincts of barbarism are, though latent,—suppressed by environment—in the time of incitement more powerful than the sense of citizenship.

It is ours to see to it that the work of civilizing proceeds—as rapidly as possible. If we yield to the mob, if we condone or apologize for lynching or any other lawlessness under any circumstances, we make the sacrifice not only of law and life, but of civilization and all moral progress. As an evidence of the general backwardness I need only point out that only the few recognize this obvious fact. In North Carolina there has been no little formal and deliberate yielding to the lawless. Throughout the East ballot frauds have been encouraged and condoned—on the ground of necessity. Within seven years the General Assembly—under Aycock—passed an act of amnesty to men who had committed political crime. Then there were the Red Shirts. Of old there was the Ku-Klux. For a generation in the West political protection has been vouchsafed illicit distillers. If they voted for the Republican party all they had to do was to move a little farther from the road.

These instances are of the past; they are gone, I desire to believe, forever. But I cite them for two purposes: First, to show that we are not as civilized as we think we are; second, to say that Ku-Klux, Red Shirts, political protection to ballot-stuffers and illicit distillers must inevitably weaken the State, must breed crime, must lead to mobs,

must bring forth lynching, must make for the forces of barbarism. That is what has happened.

In the long process of time our uncivilized propensities will be outgrown and eradicated. Meantime there is no cure. There is only a preventive. That preventive is sure. Its name is powder and shot—Force and Punishment: the weapons of last resort that the civilized use to check the barbaric. That is to say, lynching is to be treated like any other lawlessness.

The significant fact of recent experience in North Carolina is that the Commonwealth has reached the point where its people demand—mark the word—that their officers shall use powder and shot and their courts shall punish to the extent of the law. This means that North Carolina has taken a great stride forward; and that the number of lynchings will rapidly diminish. Never in our history has there been a more wholesome rousing of public spirit than that which the Salisbury crime provoked. The crime cost us dearly; but the compensation was quick and full. Next time a mob attacks a jail in North Carolina blood will flow. After that the Law will “ride on prosperously” in this Commonwealth.

J. W. BAILEY,

Editor of the *Biblical Recorder*.



## The "Fineness" of Japanese Poetry

BY STANHOPE SAMS,

Literary Editor of the Columbia State

The poetry of Japan must eventually command the consideration of all students of literature, not only for its own value, but because it is undoubtedly the most original and, therefore, the most characteristic product of Japanese intellect. Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain, in his preface to "The Classical Poetry of Japan," says: "The one original product of the Japanese mind is the native poetry. . . . So remarkable a fact should of itself suffice to gain for the poetry of this people the first place in the attention of those who make Japan and Japanese the special object of their investigations." One can hardly agree with this fine scholar in his view that the native poetry is the sole "original product" of the mind of Japan; but, even with this quality to recommend it, and nothing more, the poetry of the Japanese would be worthy of our close consideration. There is, it seems to me, very much more in the native poetry than originality, great as is that charm; for it is, in common with the poetry of other peoples, a reflection of the life and moods and spirit of the race, and it is, besides, the finest example we have in all literature of the art of selection, compression, phrasing—the art of packing "infinite riches in a little room."

I wish to consider here, however, only one of the qualities of the poetry of Japan, of the briefest forms of that poetry—its fineness, the fineness of jewel-work, its marvelous selective art, its feminine and perfect delicacy. Although the Japanese poetry may justly claim high rank because of its grace and beauty of form and its chastity of expression, yet by reason of its fineness it occupies a unique and noble station in universal literature.

In an illuminating confession, Jane Austen compared her own minute and finished method of writing to the work of an artist that paints with infinite patience upon two-inches' breadth of ivory. The comparison implies painstaking and

elaborate attention to details, and it suggests supreme closeness of observation and delicacy and fineness of craftsmanship. And this self-drawn portrait of our finest novelist, who, to use another of her phrases, was fine for herself alone, suggests also the infinitely fine art of Japan. For the most part, Japanese art demands no greater space than this two inches' breadth of ivory. Its paintings, its statutes, its poetry are all in miniature—not as we work, constructing great clusters of brilliants, but each product a single and a tiny gem.

We are accustomed to think of the Japanese as "little," but as we come to know them better and learn what they are and what they have achieved, that impression of smallness fades; the race emerges out of the mists of tradition and prejudice, and we see that, spiritually, they are among the large peoples of the earth, with "the thews of Anakim, the pulses of a Titan's heart." This impression of littleness is doubtless due to this chief characteristic of Japanese art, which is always in miniature. "Be brief" was the perfect counsel of Shakspeare, as it was of Basho, the prophet and priest of brevity in Japanese poetry, hundreds of years before. Our art prefers a great spaciousness in which to execute its conceptions. It craves blocks of marble, the granite slopes of mountains, vast stretches of canvas, and the long stately flow of epics. But now and then appears a soul-ascetic, content to bound a part of his life within a square foot of canvas; or one that discovers that beauty may dwell within an inch of ivory as delightedly as in a block of marble; or one who finds a single poignant lyric cry adequate to carry a message from one soul to the soul of the race. Among these geniuses of repression are the rare artists of Japan.

The little paintings and the diminutive statutes have had and will always have, let us hope, a liberal appreciation; but the little songs of Japan have hardly yet reached us, so fine and clear and tenuous is their music.

The Japanese are by nature artistic—one of the three inherently artistic peoples, the two others being the ancient Greeks and the modern French. And their art is intimately associated with their life, goes deep into the soul of it. It is

not so exclusive as to shun the objects and material that form the environment of everyday life. It is for this reason that the Japanese apply their art to small things and in little. They make art touch and illumine life at every point. It exalts and makes beautiful and refines all otherwise common things and confers a noble largeness upon little things. We see this in the tiniest products of their artisans, in the paintings on fans, in the fine carvings of buckles and buttons—the treasured *netsukes* of the collectors; in the toys of the children, in the rare craftsmanship of their potteries, even in the minute ornamentation of their terrible battleships, in the unapproached fineness and simplicity of their house decorations, in their gardens and in their national art of flower-arrangement or *ike-bana*, in the costumes and gentleness of their women—in the universal “unbought grace of life.” The result is a national artistry—art applied to all things and become a second nature.

We should expect to find the poetry of Japan in forms of intense brevity, in restrained and compressed measures, even if we had never discovered these wonderful poems. But it is astonishing to find it even more of a miniature art than the art of painting and sculpture. Their artists seem to have striven to reduce expression to its ultimate essence, to compress imagery and suggestion into measures so fine as to be, by our clumsy western standards, almost incommensurable, almost imponderable. Their poetry, in its briefest forms, is almost molecular in its structure, yet not even a cell could be built up out of any number of these minute poems, for each is a finished and finite organism, secure in its Lilliputian bounds of time and space. Let us take a tiny *hokku*, tiniest and most delicate of these ethereal and elusive poetic forms, and see how rounded and complete it is. I take almost the first that suggests itself, a mere phrase from Yamazaki Sokan:

Koe nakuba  
Sagi koso yuki no  
Hito-tsurane.

(Were it not for its cry, we should think the heron only a line of snow).

This *hokku*, by the way, though centuries older, suggests the well-known lines in Bryant's "Waterfowl:"

Darkly painted on the crimson sky  
Thy figure floats along.

The second line here is totally unnecessary and would have been rejected by the severe canons of Japanese art. Of course the figure of the flying waterfowl "floats along," and, if it floats it must float "along." There is no room for the obvious and for the redundant in the "scanty plot of ground" of the Japanese *hokku*.

It would be quite possible for a Western poet to say many things about the white heron in flight resembling a line of snow drawn across a patch of sky; but it is hardly conceivable that an artist of another land would care or dare to add a stroke to this dainty and perfect picture. The impression sought to be created—and the Japanese artists are rare impressionists—is perfectly attained.

We must not think, however, that it is for brevity chiefly that the Japanese artist strives. The Romans had learned that trick of words, strewing their prose and poetry with splendidly succinct phrases, close-girt for the running of immortal races; but the Latin phrase is merely a part of a great whole, or, at the least, the gem of a single passage or line, while in Japanese poetry the single phrase is the entire poem. There is no building of the lofty rime, no careful elaboration of the thought, or winding and untwisting of the story, no piling up of images, no illustrations, no moral—only a single sentiment, the heart of an unsung poem; a single note, the key of a lyric; a solitary suggestion, the precipitate of long meditation. The Japanese poem is short because the poets feel that all that is necessary is to utter the single thought that most deeply stirred them in a certain situation or when seeing some natural object or movement or to express the central sentiment of a plexus of emotions.

We of the West are most apt to look for poetry in language, that being the chief medium of its expression. And this word "expression" gives me almost precisely the distinction I have in view. Our conception of poetry is of what

is really one form of its expression, that is "the best words in their best order," as Coleridge defines it; while the Japanese conception is of poetry in its essence. A gnarled pine, a hauntingly beautiful stretch of water, or a single slender lotos stem is as true poetry to them as a sonnet by Wordsworth or a lyric by Keats is to us. It is sufficient for them, therefore, if one of their tiny poems, devoid of all extraneous allurements of rime or meter, recalls to the mind the object it describes, for to them that and that only is the real poem.

There is a famous little verse by Basho, which is perhaps the most familiar poem in Japanese, that will illustrate by a single felicitous example the exceeding compression of thought and language, the idea of association of which the Japanese are so fond, and the characteristic manner of their poets:

Furu ike ya  
Kawadzu tobi komu  
Midzu no oto.

(A frog leaps into an old well—and we hear the ripple of water).

But it is not the mere splash of water the Japanese hears: he hears the birds and the girls singing in Nippon, amid the white clouds of cherry blossoms, while the snow or the white sand gleams from the top of Fujino-yama, or the sun glimmers on the Inland Sea, or moonlight on the temples of Nikko. All this, and much more, a Western poet would have written; but Basho is content to suggest it, as a sound faintly heard in a dream may suggest some divine music, and leaves each reader, from his laughter or his tears, to fashion his own poem.

Another reason for the brevity of their poetry may be found in the desire of the Japanese to have their poems portable. They wish to have them so light that they will not too heavily burden the memory, so compact that they may not demand too much room in minds that wish to carry the treasured burden of so many memorable things. This is due to the closer relation between art and life in Japan: the people love poetry, as they love all forms of art, and they like poems that can be easily learned, easily borne in their

minds, and poems that express for them ideas and sentiments that they may dimly feel but cannot frame in words.

And is not this *portability*, after all is said, about the chief quality of poetry? Is not the poem, reduced to its final analysis, the immortal part of it, the part that the memory can carry off as its best spoil? It was Poe's idea that a poem must be short enough to be read in one sitting—say, of a half hour. He doubtless had in view the delight of grasping the complete picture of the artist and of bearing it away, instead of having to go again and again to the book before being able to complete the complex and extensive mosaic. If we carry Poe's notion a little farther we shall come to the Japanese ideal poem—a single phrase or sentence, the very heart, quick and pulsating, of the poem that the artist still bears in his breast. We may read and enjoy widely, but we cannot take back with us into our retirement or bear with us in the thick of life's business, the vast and heaped riches of our poetry. As a sort of compromise, we carry off as trophies a few beautiful lines or words. The poet of Nippon presses and presses down his thought into such compass that we may seize it entire and wear it, flower-like, in our hearts.

It happens that a Japanese poet has left for us a beautiful little gem that enables us to compare and sharply contrast the points of view, the ideals, the methods, and the styles of the poets of the Far East and of the West. Wordsworth's famous poem on the cuckoo is familiar to all who read English literature; it is very beautiful and reproduces exactly the impression that the bird's solitary and wandering cry makes upon the hearer. And yet our Japanese artist was able to achieve the same fine result in a tiny poem of seventeen syllables. This poet, straying in a park or wood, heard the note of that "invisible thing, a voice, a mystery," as Wordsworth calls the cuckoo, and improvised, according to the charming practice of Japanese singers, the following *hokku*:

Hito koe wa!  
Tsuki ga naita ka?  
Hototogisu!

Like all good poetry, this is not translatable, but it may be rendered as "A solitary cry! Is it possible that it was the moon that sang? Ah! no—the cuckoo!" Can anyone fail to see that all of Wordsworth's exquisite poem is held in solution in these chary syllables? It is as if the poet had wrought out in his mind all of the beautiful suggestions that the English bard evokes for us, and had, with obedience to the rules of his austere art, thrown aside all but the central and the crowning thought and gave us that, arrayed in unforgettable glory.

It sometimes occurs that we find in an otherwise commonplace poem a single marvelous line or phrase that, like the eagle's feather that Browning picks up on that "moor, with a name of its own and a certain place in the world, no doubt," illumines "the blank miles round about." We find such a line in Freneau's "Eutaw Springs:" "They took the spear—but left the shield;" which expresses with fine power the unsheltered courage of the patriots. And this is about all there is in the poem, and it would have been a marvelous epigram, if the poet had written it under the title—"Eutaw Springs." This is precisely what a Japanese poet would have done; but such refined and exquisite fineness was beyond the art of Freneau.

These poems seem small to us—small in compass and small, too, in value, as compared with our greatest poems. Do they seem small to the Japanese; and, what is the chief thing, are they small in themselves? They seem very slight, many of them, to us who are accustomed to poems that require days to read and that are beyond the power of mind to remember; but they grow in our view of them as we are won over by their marvelous beauty and concentrated power of suggestion. Just as we feel that a line or a phrase here and there are really what make a certain favorite poem so dear to us, and that these sparse lines or phrases are really the poem to us, so we learn that there may be great charm, a potential fulness, and a noble spaciousness—of suggestion—in the few syllables of a Japanese *hokku*. They do not, of course, seem small to the Japanese, except in mere compass, and this is to them one of their greatest beauties and finest perfections. The Japanese poets and the Japanese readers

recognize the truth of the teaching of Basho that brevity is in itself one of the qualities of perfection of form, and that great beauty and noble sentiment may be expressed within the narrow bounds of their briefest poems.

There are no long poems in Japanese. A long poem is unthinkable to them. They have what sometimes passes for long excursions in verse, but these are really nothing more than short poems strung together, lacking all unity save that of subject. The favorite forms are the *hokku*, which I have exclusively considered up to this point, consisting of three lines, the first having five, the second having seven, and the third having five syllables—seventeen in all; the *tanka*, consisting of five lines of 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 syllables—31 in all; and the *dodoitsu*, consisting of 7, 7, 7, 5 syllables—or 26 in all. The *tanka* is the classical form, affected by the standard poets of the country, while the other forms are used by every Japanese that writes at all and by many that cannot. The *hokku* is the great favorite.

These little poems are so much a part of Japanese life that every cultivated person writes them. The Emperor, it is believed, composes four of them every day, and all who go to "view" the flowers, the blossoming of the cherry-trees, or the reddening maples in Uyeno or other parks, write some pretty conceit in a *hokku* and hang it upon the chrysanthemum or lotos stalks, or on the boughs of the trees. The *hokku* may, therefore, be justly called the song of Japan, as we say a certain ecstasy in a few notes is the song of the thrush. No other poetic form has ever received such exalted honor.

The *hokku* is composed impromptu upon every occasion, the writer putting into verse the thought appropriate to the moment, the incident, or the associations suggested, much as the Greeks wrote their epigrams before the epigram became, in the hands of Martial and his successors, a little satiric sting. One of the most famous of *hokku* was composed by the poetess Chiyo when she found one day that a morning glory had flung its tendrils around her well-bucket:

Asagao ni  
Tsurube torarete  
Morai-midzu.



(The morning glory has seized my well-bucket. Gift—water)! Sir Edwin Arnold, the diffuse, used forty English words to translate these five Japanese, or eight for one:

The morning-glory  
Her leaves and bells has bound  
My bucket-handle round.  
I could not break the bands  
Of those soft hands.  
The bucket and the well to her I left;  
Give me some water, for I come bereft.

A familiar story about Basho illustrates how these *hokku* were improvised. The great bard's groom was also a poet, and as the two were riding through a country lane, they saw a dragon-fly. The groom immediately said:

Aka-tombo—  
Hane wo tottara,  
To-garaashi!

(A dragon-fly—tear off his wings and you have a red pepper pod). But Basho rebuked the cruelty of the thought, and corrected the poem:

To-garaashi—  
Hane wo tsuketara,  
Aka-tombo!

(Add wings to the pod of red pepper, and you have a dragon-fly)!

A poet sees a dragon-fly, a tombo, fluttering in the red light of the evening, and writes:

Tombo no  
Mo ya iri-hi no  
Issekai.

(Dance, O Dragon-Fly, in your world of the setting sun)! This *hokku* is remarkable for its marvelous brevity, having but thirteen instead of the allotted seventeen syllables—four syllables being accounted for in an equal number of long ones.

Another poet says the tombo has "dyed its body with the setting sun." An old statesman on his death bed sees a dead leaf whirled by his window and it suggests his own faring-

forth on the wings of eternity; and he writes: "A leaf whirls down—a leaf whirls down in the wind." Nothing more; but the simple repetition is as voluble as Madeline's heart on St. Agnes' Eve.

These little poems may justly be compared, I think, to simple bird-songs, or better, perhaps, to the note of that tiniest of all singers, the little cricket that the Japanese call "kusa-hibashi," or grass lark, and make a gilded captive in a cage an inch square, because of its plaintive and exquisite melody. Keats had the true idea when he wrote, "Beauty is truth, truth beauty; that is all ye know on earth—and all ye need to know," though he did not always follow his own counsel. But to these rare singers the unadorned beauty of truth—the cool, chaste pagan loveliness of nudity—is enough. Take the following *hokku* in which the poet is contrasting the deathless youth of nature and the brief life of man, a topic that would serve for an Italian canto or an English lyric. He writes:

Hito ni koso  
Toshi ha yori nure  
Haru no kusa!

(It is only man that becomes aged, Oh, grass of Spring)!

Basho had the thought centuries before Keats, when he said "truth is the marrow of style," and his famous motto is, perhaps, the best thing that has ever been said of literary form and is itself a model of form and a miracle of brevity: "*fu-eki ryu-ko*;" "unchanging truth in fleeting form." That is, the matter must be of enduring interest, but the form, or style, must be that which best suits the age in which it is written. The result is permanent literature. It is chiefly due to the influence of Basho that the poetry of Japan has attained this wonderful conciseness, purity of form, and chaste beauty.

I have dwelt chiefly on the *hokku* because it is the most characteristic form in Japanese poetry. The *tanka* is the classic measure, and the famous anthologies, "the Manyo-shiu Kogi" (the Collection of the Myriad Leaves) and the "Hyakunin-Isshu" (Single Songs of a Hundred Poets) are

composed of poems in this form. The most famous *tanka* is the splendid gem by Motoori which expresses the "Yamato Damashii" or spirit of Yamato (Japan) of which we have recently heard so much:

Shikishima no  
Yamato gokoro wo  
Hito towaba  
Asahi ni niwou  
Yamazakura kana.

Dr. Nitobe has made the following pretty translation:

"Isles of blest Japan  
Should your Yamato spirit strangers seek to scan  
Say: Seenting morning's sun-lit air,  
Blows the cherry, wild and fair!"

The national anthem also is a *tanka*:

Kimi ga yo wa  
Chiyo ni yachiyo ni  
Sazare ishi no  
Iwawo to narite  
Koke nomusu made.

The meaning is a devout wish that the dominion of the empire may last till thousands of years have passed, firm as a rock, earth-rooted.

One more must suffice. It is an exquisite *tanka* by Kyosuke:

Waka zakari  
Ya yo izu kata ye  
Yuki ni  
Shiranu okina ni  
Mi wo ba yuzurite

The translation being:

O Bloom of Youth!  
Whither  
Hast thou gone,  
Leaving in thy stead  
An unknown old man?

Of the *dodoitsu* I shall give a single example:

Konna kokoro ni  
Shita no mo omae  
Ima-sara akite wa,  
Kawaiiso

(You it is who has put my heart in this state. To weary of me now is cruel).

Even in children's songs, which, among all Western people, are apt to be mere rambling nonsense, the Japanese succeed in writing good poetry and preserving the utmost brevity of form. I shall give two of unusual charm—the first in translation only—although the Japanese original is exquisitely beautiful:

"Gone to sleep? Not yet asleep? I questioned the pillow; the pillow answered: 'already asleep!'"

The other is a star-song, recalling, but infinitely beyond, our "Twinkle, twinkle, little star." The Japanese original is:

Hoashi San, Hoashi San!  
Hitori hoashi de denu monja;  
San mo, man mo, deru monja!

This may be given in English as follows:

Mr. Star, Mr. Star,  
For a single star to rise alone is not right!  
Even a thousand, and even ten thousand should rise together!

The fineness of these little poems, their infinite tenderness of touch, their wonderful felicity of expression and of suggestion, are the splendid result of centuries of training and devotion to a single pure ideal of beauty. Browning shows an appreciation of this ideal in his "sunset touch, a chorus-ending from Euripides." We are not content with the exquisite flower of a single fancy or the perfect felicity of a solitary suggestion or association. But the Japanese are content with these things, finding just so many more beauties and ecstasies in nature. They have, therefore, more poets and more poems, and more artists and more art than we have, and their art is more finished, polished, and fine. With us poetry is a sanctuary for a few rare souls; with the Japanese it is the universal, simple, and beautiful creed of nature.

## Dr. John W. Monette: The Pioneer Historian of the Mississippi Valley

BY FRANKLIN L. RILEY,

Professor of History in University of Mississippi

John Wesley Monette was born at Staunton, Va., April 5, 1803. In his infancy his family removed to Chillicothe, Ohio, where he was reared and educated. In his eighteenth year he completed his academic education in the Chillicothe Academy, which was then recognized as "the first institution of its grade northwest of the Ohio." He showed an early fondness for all kinds of literary work. In fact he was so much attached to all of his studies that it is impossible to say which of them afforded him the greatest pleasure. He was no less proficient in literature and the classics than in mathematics and the natural sciences. He prized his "Iliad" and other text books which he used at Chillicothe so highly that they remained in his library throughout his life, some of them being used by his son at college in 1862.

In 1821, a few months after the completion of his academic course, his family settled in the then important town of Washington, six miles east of Natchez, Miss. Having decided to become a physician, he began his professional studies at once under the direction of his father. Four years later he was graduated in medicine from Transylvania University. He then returned home to enter upon his life work.

Dr. Monette was a student by nature, and, although he was actively and successfully engaged in an exacting profession, he never lost interest in literary work. He had a large and well selected library, composed principally of works on medicine, history, geography, geology and theology. In order to gratify his taste for research he found it necessary to economize the spare moments which are often wasted by other people without any thought of their value in the aggregate. To him idleness was almost a crime.

His temperament seemed to combine traits that are more or less contradictory. He was warm-hearted, courteous and

genial, yet at times reserved, austere, and exacting. He was not irascible, but was strenuous in a just cause. His habits were most exemplary. He lived at a time when the use of tobacco and intoxicating drinks was widespread, yet he abstained from both. He was strictly religious, being for years a steward in the Methodist church. His fondness for his home and his strong attachment to his large family made his domestic life a source of constant pleasure. He cared little for formal social functions, and found little time for social intercourse of any kind. He enjoyed public debate, and when engaged therein, drew liberally upon his great fund of information to the pleasure and profit of his hearers. As he was not fond of any kind of sport, he usually spent his limited periods of recreation in his garden or orchard, where he combined physical exertion with study of plant life.

Dr. Monette was also a man of affairs and touched life at many points. He was a successful financier, as is shown by the fact that he accumulated large property interests and was successfully engaged in cotton culture. He cared little for public life, but felt a deep interest in the administration of public affairs.

Two fatal epidemics of yellow fever which occurred in Natchez and Washington in 1823 and 1825 gave Dr. Monette his first opportunity to acquire distinction in his profession. The published results of his investigations soon gave him widespread recognition as a yellow fever expert, and placed his name among those of the best contributors to the medical literature of his day. In one of his contributions, published in 1837, he suggested the use of quarantines in restricting the disease. This suggestion was followed by the officials at Natchez with most gratifying results in the epidemic of 1841. It is claimed that this was the first time that an attempt was ever made to prevent the spread of yellow fever by means of a quarantine, and that to Dr. Monette alone is due the credit of originating this idea. In 1851 a writer in *DeBow's Review* says that as a result of Dr. Monette's quarantine method Natchez has not had an epidemic of yellow fever since 1839, "while all the villages above and below, small and great, have been several times severely scourged by it." Dr.

Monette made, from time to time, many other valuable contributions to medical science,—too numerous and technical to give in this connection.

Besides his professional contributions, Dr. Monette's earlier literary efforts were directed principally to the subject of natural history. Among his papers is found a carefully written "essay" of 249 manuscript pages of letter size paper on the "Causes of the Variety of the Complexion and the Form of the Human Species." In this essay he attempts to show the primitive unity of the human race and to prove that racial differences can be accounted for by the influence of environment. He shows the effect of climate and natural surroundings on complexion, corporeal development, language, hair, etc., and fortifies his contention by citing parallel effects upon the lower animals. He also traces the influences of "state of society and manner of living," "fashion," and other "artificial" conditions upon different races and compares them to analogous influences resulting from the domestication of animals and plants. He admits that there are at rare intervals certain "alterations of nature," regardless of the uniformity of surrounding conditions.

In his recognition of climate as a potent factor in working changes and affecting varieties, Dr. Monette anticipated by more than eighty years an important phase of biological study, known as ecology. He classified the peoples of the earth according to climatic zones or belts. To aid him in the study of the effects of climate on color, he had a series of maps prepared which embraced all countries and the islands of the sea. Each body of land was colored so as to show the exact complexion of its native inhabitants at the beginning of its history.

His view that variations of the human stature become obliterated by inter-marriage, unless accentuated by peculiarities of environment, is probably an independent statement of a conclusion scientifically arrived at by Galton and others during the seventies. Dr. Monette, like Dr. W. C. Wells, recognized the theory of natural selection long before the publication of Darwin's great work. Although he seemed to show that faith in environmental influences so strongly held

by Herbert Spencer a quarter of a century later, he was not at all lacking in appreciation of what Darwin calls "spontaneous variations." It is clear that other scientific principles published by Darwin in 1869 in the widely recognized literary prize of the last century, "The Origin of Species," were stated by Dr. Monette in a hypothetical way thirty-five years earlier. One of these writers based his conclusion on deductive and the other on inductive reasoning. Darwin's book was the result of twenty years of the most painstaking efforts, the product of a profound study of nature; and the principles which he presented are more definite, convincing, and scientific than are those given by Dr. Monette. This comparison is made merely to show that Dr. Monette, at the age of twenty-one, possessed many correct and profound conceptions of nature and her laws and had acquired the power of logical reasoning and keen discrimination, as well as the ability to draw accurate scientific conclusions. His patience, industry, logical acumen, and open-mindedness are manifest on almost every page of this interesting production.

Another paper belonging to the earlier period of Dr. Monette's literary activity bears the title, "Essay on the Improbability of Spontaneous Productions of Animals and Plants." This contribution is also found in manuscript form, and was probably never published. In order to appreciate it, the reader must bear in mind the fact that when it was written, the science of biology was not in existence and natural history held the field. The advocates of spontaneous generation were then enthusiastic and persistent in their belief that the lower forms of life owe their origin to equivocal or fortuitous production. The spirit of the naturalist in Dr. Monette, as shown in this interesting paper, is as valuable, nay necessary, today as it was eighty years ago. Indeed, fairly educated people still gape in wonder over the "spontaneous" origin of plants in a burned over district, the raining down of fish, and the like.

The introduction to this paper shows that the author had an accurate conception of the principles and laws underlying and governing the various forms of animal and plant life. Although he does not argue the question from the experi-



mental standpoint, he presents a strong, accurate, and logical array of facts based on observation and deduction. The paper is written in a popular style, and is, in the light of the time, rather a remarkable production. Although Tyndale proved by a series of careful experiments the utter fallacy of the theory of spontaneous production the same conclusion had been reached by Dr. Monette twenty-five or thirty years earlier. This essay is a beautiful illustration of the logical and scientific attitude of the writers of the field-naturalist type before the development of experimental science.

The least valuable of Dr. Monette's scientific writings was probably a series of articles on the geology of the Mississippi Valley published in Volume III of *DeBow's Review*.

The striking similarity between his earlier subjects of investigation and those of Dr. John Mitchell, who lived a century earlier in Dr. Monette's native State (Virginia), is interesting. There is, however, no evidence to show that Dr. Monette was aware of this fact.

Dr. Monette's place in the scientific history of our country must of necessity be an obscure one. As none of his most important scientific productions were ever published, his researches produced little influence outside the circle of his personal friends. He felt that "thirst for natural sciences," which, in the words of Eaton, the pioneer geologist of America, pervaded "the United States like the progress of an epidemic," but, unfortunately, he was deprived of association with the scientific men of his day. In order to overcome this misfortune, he spent money for books, more lavishly perhaps than discriminately.

Dr. Monette also wrote, from time to time, a number of anonymous articles, humorous and satirical. Perhaps the most vigorous of his anonymous writings is a series of essays on "Empiricism." These essays were directed principally against the pretensions and practices of the "steam doctors," the disciples of Samuel Thompson, Samuel Wilcox, and Wharton Howard. The concluding paragraph of this series is worthy of reproduction in this connection. It is as follows:

"Quackery and empiricism in every age has been essentially the same. A quack is a demagogue; he relies for success upon the same

kind of artifices with all other demagogues, whether political or otherwise. He flatters the vanity, caresses the weakness, and strengthens the prejudice of the great mass of people. He is one of the *people*; he lives for the good of the *people*; he has their welfare nearest his heart; his whole object is to protect them from the tyranny of science; to guard them from placing confidence in learned and skillful physicians, who have devoted their whole time and talents to the study and improvement of a noble profession, and are not of the *people*, but are combined *against the people*, to enslave them while living and inherit their effects when dead. Empiricism has always been the same; a compound of libels upon science and virtue, of ignorance, effrontery, and falsehood."

In the thirtieth year of his age Dr. Monette entered upon his greatest literary undertaking,—the writing of an elaborate work on the geography and history of the Mississippi Valley. His original plan embraced only a book on the physical geography of the Mississippi Valley, and he spent several years upon this work before deciding to enlarge it so as to embrace also the political geography and history of this region. In 1837, after four years of unremitting toil, he thought that his physical geography was well nigh ready for the press, but before he could complete his revision new information required to be inserted. Although the book was re-written and enlarged several times, as new information was acquired, the author, because of his anxiety "to give it the greatest possible perfectness," would never consent to hand the manuscript over to his publishers.

About the year 1841, at the suggestion of some of his friends, Dr. Monette undertook to prepare a history of the Mississippi Valley as a separate volume. But before he had completed his work he found that his history would make two large octavo volumes. Strange as it may seem, these two volumes, published by the Harpers in 1846, are the only published results of his more pretentious efforts.

As this valuable work may be found in almost every important library in the country, no attempt will be made to give an elaborate account of it in this connection. His manuscripts show that this part of his work was done with his usual care. If further evidence of this fact were necessary, it could be furnished by his private copy of the printed

volumes, to which the writer of this paper has had access. It contains a large number of erasures, annotations, and corrections, including in many places the addition of valuable facts in manuscript notes. On the margin of these books are found a large number of entries, as follows: "rewritten," "omitted," "revised," "see manuscript text," etc. In each case the carefully prepared manuscript text is pasted in its proper place. One of the three new chapters which he intended to add to this work upon the publication of a second edition will be found in Volume VII of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*. It bears the title, "The Progress of Navigation and Commerce on the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, A. D. 1700-1846."

The first volume of this history contains an account of the events which happened in the Mississippi Valley prior to its acquisition by the United States. The second volume, entitled "The United States in the Valley of the Mississippi," contains the first comprehensive history of the region as a whole during this period. The style of the author is simple and fascinating. His account of frontier life is full of interest. One of the most commendable features of the entire work is the large number of references to sources and authorities. There were few books of value then available upon the history of the Mississippi Valley which are not referred to in the footnotes of these volumes. The magnitude of Dr. Monette's undertaking and the financial outlay necessary to its execution will be evident to any who reflect that the work was done before there were any great libraries in the Mississippi Valley and before there was any system of inter-library loans. The editor of *DeBow's Review* referred to it as the only work which could at that time "in any degree satisfy the desire for information" which was everywhere felt with reference to the great Valley of the Mississippi, and he expressed an opinion that this able work deserved many editions and an extensive circulation in our country. He also said: "In its arrangement, it is admirable; in its matter and execution, nothing could be more fruitful and reliable."

Dr. Monette did not live to finish the work on his physical geography, which treatise he seemed to think would be

his most important contribution to knowledge. Judging from his manuscripts, this work was well-nigh completed at the time of his death. Any one who reads it today will join with Professor Forshey, his intimate friend and associate in scientific work, in saying that Dr. Monette and the public were both losers by the failure to publish the physical geography. Professor Forshey expressed a further belief that upon its publication it would be found "to form one of the most valuable works ever given to the public, from an American hand."

In order to place a proper estimate upon Dr. Monette's physical geography it must be studied in the light of the time at which it was written. There was then no book which gave an adequate treatment of the subject. The only works that professedly treated it were those by Timothy Flint and William Darby. The first of these writers, according to Dr. Monette, presented his statistics and facts "with such careless inaccuracy and such looseness of language," that many viewed it "more as a kind of geographical romance than as a great work on physical geography." Although Darby's books contained much valuable information, they treated of the Mississippi Valley only incidentally.

At the time when Dr. Monette was engaged in the preparation of his physical geography, the Valley of the Mississippi was attracting thousands of settlers from the Atlantic coast and was receiving the attention of the entire nation. These facts led to a widespread inquiry concerning this interesting and little understood region and there was a demand for an elaborate and authentic treatise on the subject. Dr. Monette intended his book to be "the nucleus for such an undertaking," which he said might be "extended and enlarged at some future time." In his manuscript preface he claimed credit for originating the plan of dividing the physical geography of a country according to its "river regions." He also states that "the physical details of the lower Valley of the Mississippi" as given in his book were "mostly new and the result of personal observation." His treatment of the climate and seasons of the Delta is full of interest. Professor Forshey gives a compact summary of this elaborate work in the following language:

"The scope of the work is such as to entitle it to the name of 'Physical Geography' in its fullest sense. The height of mountains; the elevation of plains, uplands, and alluvians; the force of torrents, their rate of fall, and quantity of discharge; the variations of climate, its humidity, healthfulness, temperature, and general and local meteorology; the natural productions of the earth, mineral and vegetable; forest trees, shrubs, medicinal plants and waters; agriculture, and its variety of products, both local and general; and the mode of culture of the several great staple productions; the native inhabitants of the valley, their manners, customs, and the antiquity that marked the footsteps of the earlier races of men; the animals peculiar to each portion of the valley, and the effects of civilization upon the native races of men and animals; the conquest, settlement, and advance of states, to their present condition of prosperity and enlightenment;—these and analogous subjects, are treated in a most elaborate and masterly manner."

It is pathetic to think that after his prolonged and arduous scientific investigations, the name of Dr. Monette, like that of his great predecessor, William Dunbar,—the pioneer scientist of Mississippi—cannot be found among American men of science. Dr. Monette was completely enamored of nature, but his ideals were so exalted that he could not get his own consent to publish any of the most valuable scientific treatises which he prepared from time to time. As a result, the only evidence that remains of his persistent efforts to penetrate the secrets of nature is the large batch of manuscripts, now yellow with age, which are prized by his son as a most precious family heritage. Although deprived of the fame to which his scientific labors entitled him, his important though less pretentious service to the cause of history has justly earned for him the title of the pioneer historian of the Mississippi Valley.

## The Poetry of Madison Cawein

BY ANNA BLANCHE MCGILL

When all is said concerning the present status of the poetic art in America, and during the past year many things seem to have been said, if not in the higher courts of criticism at least in the lesser tribunals, perhaps the quality most generally found wanting in the work under consideration has been that of distinctiveness. Though in characterizing that portion of our literary field sacred to the muse, one may not go so far as the English critic who named the American Anthology a wilderness of mediocrity, the most partial judge must lament the infrequency of his opportunity to enjoy that special exhilaration kindled by the appearance of some particular, arresting individuality. Other prerequisites for the singing art seem to be a common possession—even of the versifiers. Fluency, felicity and other lyric graces exist in an abundance that would have made many an arid period of the past blossom as the rose. But we have become so accustomed to these technical excellencies that they no longer captivate the ear as they did. It is not sufficient that every one raises the flower now since all have the seed—the glory of the early burst of bloom is never recaptured, and in vain as a rule does the reader who does not believe that poetry is a dead art, some day to be classed with mound-building, look for some new burgeoning to arrest his attention and inflame his fancy.

In the introduction to an English edition of the poems of Madison Cawein, published in London a few years ago, Mr. Edmund Gosse, viewing this condition of the muse as a crisis of languor, remarked: "In his own country, at this particular moment, in this matter of serious nature-painting, Mr. Cawein possesses what Cowley would have called a 'monopoly of wit.'" A less exclusive yet fastidious judgment might admit into the monopoly, if one may speak Hibernianly, a few exponents of other phases of the poetic art, if not of this special one, serious nature-painting. But after this re-

division of the lyric domain, Mr. Cawein must be found one of a small minority whose energy and distinctiveness of personality have so wrought upon poetic materials as to have left upon them a certain stamp, the imprint of an individuality. An individuality, it may be said, whence arises his prime challenge to interest, individuality being after all what Mr. Henry James would designate "the interesting case," so interesting, indeed, that it has been known to overbalance other qualities, engaging for instance through Emerson and Whitman even a trans-Atlantic attention when other talents, more academic, more in the tradition, failed.

There is always a mild madness in an attempt to define such a phenomenon as a poetic individuality, that power which Shelley said "comes and goes like a dream, and which none can ever trace." On the face of it, to endeavor to follow the glancing of a poet's eye from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, is enough to indict a critic of fine frenzy. Especially is this true when a poet is still in the flesh, in mid-career, hence likely to suffer a change into something rich and strange, utterly beyond the anticipation of contemporary observation. Yet because now for several years Mr. Cawein's talent has been expressing itself in a certain vein, it is perhaps neither rash nor impossible to note one characteristic which primarily distinguishes his work from the mass of contemporary poetry—his ardor, his poetic passion. Usually so calm is the muse of today, so uninflamed, one frequently wonders, missing any glow in the majority of lines, whether Milton had not written more wisely had "passionate" preceded "simple" and "sensuous" in his definition of what poetry should be. This *a priori* condition of all artistic achievement, this fine dementia obsessing those who have bitten the laurel, is at once the cause of Mr. Cawein's faults—when it bears him away into some prodigality of imagery, some "pomp and pageant of color," to borrow a phrase of his own; of his successes—which it has lifted above unimpassioned versifying into the region of genuine poetry, where it is a steadfast torch to his fancy, imagination and other poetic faculties.

The object of Mr. Cawein's fervor, the "divinity that still

evades and still allures in a thousand forms," is that vision of Keats and Shelley, Ideal Beauty. From these two poets rather than from American influences Mr. Cawein derives his literary ancestry; from the ethereal Shelley of the "bright silver dream," of "The Cloud," Shelley, the lover of abstract beauty, from the Keats on the other hand, of the rich sensuousness that perceives and names the lovely immediate details of sight, sound and scent, the Keats, also, of the exquisite, agile fancy, Keats of "Endymion." With these two poets Mr. Cawein seems to work from lingering memories of some lost paradise of the golden hours or from premonitory consciousness of a future one:

"Where ever the voice of Beauty sighs,  
And ever the dance of dreams goes on."

Such an ardor for ideal beauty inevitably finds its symbols, much of its inspiration, and what satisfaction it may have in this mortal existence, in the world of nature. To the poet such satisfactions are not absolutely meagre. The step being so short for him from some evening glory of the west to the light that never was on sea or land, the sunset and the dawn become at once the prefiguring of inaccessible beauty and a source of delight in themselves; the yellow primrose, the rainbow and the rose with their color and contour, all their gracious charm, are almost their own excuse for being.

In his rendition of this beauty, Mr. Cawein's poetry is an efflorescence of what for many years has been the highest expression of the literary spirit in America. That intimacy with nature through which Thoreau, Mr. Burroughs, and their disciples, have built up a library of out-doors whose chief charm is its poetic quality, is etherealized, as it were, in Mr. Cawein's metre and melody. As theirs, his persuasions are:

"There is no rhyme that is half so sweet  
As the song of the wind in the rippling wheat  
And the loveliest lyric I ever heard  
Was the wildwood strain of a forest bird."

Throughout the particular landscape to which Mr. Cawein has devoted himself his vision is practically omniscient, rang-



ing from the broad stretches of hill and valley in his native Middle West, to such frail, exquisite embodiments of beauty as the twilight moths "gnome-wrought of moonbeam fluff and gossamer," or the leaf-crickets with their

"Shell-shaped winglets as thin as spangle  
Of cob-webbed rain, held up at airy angle."

Mr. Cawein's approach to nature runs through all the gamut of a lover's moods. It is tender, exquisite, rhapsodic, sensitive to all manifestations of the seasons from the exultant glory of summer, when he sings, "Hang out your loveliest star, O Night! O Night! Your richest rose, O Dawn!" to the melancholy of fall, "Ah, me, too soon the autumn comes upon these purple plaintive hills," or of winter evenings when

"The shivering wind sits in the oaks whose limbs  
Twisted and tortured nevermore are still."

His frank tenderness takes hold of those familiar aspects of the country from which the American people have never far departed, making of them such engaging composites of idealization and memory as the old spring with its "myrrh and music everywhere." The old barn, "low, swallow-swept and gray," old lanes "the locusts sow with clustered pearls," or old homes among the hills,

"Where springtime mints her gold in daffodillies,  
And autumn coins her marigolds in showers."

If Mr. Cawein's work as a rule is distinct from that of other American poets in his treatment of nature, it departs also from his English masters. As our landscapists have done to their advantage he has addressed himself directly to the material about him for inspiration, hence his characteristic, indigenous note. The homely tang of the soil in this is significant:

"The elder coppice, banks of bloom,  
The spice-wood bush, the field  
Of tumbled clover and perfume  
Hot weedy pastures yield."

His touch among the flowers reminds one of Walter Bagehot's definition of the perfect poetic appreciation of nature founded on a knowledge of facts and a sensibility to charms. If one may digress a little to personalia, there is a Teutonic strain in Mr. Cawein's ancestry that may account for his intuitive knowledge and love of flowers, and for his copious use of them in the rich detail work of his landscapes. Frequently infatuated with some lovely stretch of bloom, he drifts into a litany of flower names, as if they were pearls he were stringing and fondling on his strand of song. The pleasure of the result for the reader is scarcely less than the process evidently was to the poet. In fact the curious charm of some such lyric catalogue suggests what Colonel Higginson once said to the effect that there are words capable of producing the same pleasureable sensations the gardens they describe would awaken. If ever this be true it must be when a delicate perception and a poetic tenderness present such an array of the wildflower multitudes as this:

"Spring-beauty, wind-flower, and the bleeding heart,  
 And bloodroot holding low  
 Its cups of stainless snow;  
 Sorrel and trillium and the twin-leaf, too,  
 Twinkling like stars through dew.  
 And pale anemones whose airy heads  
 As to some fairy rhyme  
 All day shall nod in delicate time."

Though Mr. Cawein carries almost to a degree of preciosity his interpretations of nature's exquisite details, this by no means unfits his muse for wider fields of contemplation. With a broader brush then he paints the season when "Again spring walks transcendent on the mountains," or when August,

"Clad on with glowing beauty and the peace  
 Benign of calm maturity . . . stands  
 Among her meadows and her orchard-lands."

The "Ode to Summer," with its sonorous choral, "Come to the forests or the treeless meadows," with its strong and spacious poetic vision, attains what might be called the grand style of lyricism. In another noble poem, "To Sorrow,"

which approaches Keats' exalted mood in the incomparable odes, he gives a lyric prescription suggestive of one in the "Ode to Melancholy." He does not exactly glut his sorrow on a morning rose, but he hints of a similar delectable physic:

"Now Spring is here and all the world is white,  
I will go forth and where the forest robes  
Itself in green, and every hill and height  
Crowns its fair head with blossoms, spirit-globes  
Of hyacinth and crocus dashed with dew,  
I will forget my grief,  
And thee, O Sorrow, gazing on the blue  
Beneath a last year's leaf,  
Of some brief violet the south wind woos,  
Or bluet whence the west-wind raked the snows."

In this poem, in the impassioned dithyrambics, "Calm and Storm," "The Harvest Moon," with its striking imagery of the spirit who walks through shifting cloud-halls, bearing the pearly vase of blossoms of light, the three first poems of the "Vale of Tempe," in the mood of Emerson's "May-day," Mr. Cawein's inspiration is at zenith. Especially in these last poems, "Wind and Cloud," "The Hylas," "In Solitary Places," does it move on pinions of high lyric rapture. Their lines are infused with a glowing poetic beauty, their music is full, spontaneous, fluent. The chants and lighter lyrics of "In Solitary Places," "Out, Out, My Heart! the World is White with Spring," etc., seem to capture in their melody and movement the processional rhythms of the winds of March and the sounds of rebirth and growth.

"A song that called in session  
The wild flowers there up-springing,  
The wild flowers lightly flinging,  
Their tresses to the air."

It is almost inevitable that an imagination so inflamed by the beauty of the natural world should seek to body forth the glowing forms assumed in the poetic brain by what to the prosaic vision are but natural phenomena or airy nothings. We have gone so far away from the wonder-world of myth and legend that idealistic personifications are likely to leave us cold. The naiad, the hamadryad, and similar poetic

machinery, the modern mind is tempted to relegate with impatience to the outer darkness of Samuel Weller's category of fabulous animals. The only justification for their appearance in modern literature is when they crowd from the artist's mind with the spontaneity and vitality of Keats' or Maurice de Guérin's impassioned perceptions. Though sometimes they glide in classic aloofness through Mr. Cawein's poems, more frequently they have the exquisite substantiality of engaging actualities, born of a poet's affinity with the ineffable beauty of nature which to its votaries is a presence almost palpable and visible. Mr. Gosse said of him: "He brings the ancient gods to Kentucky, and it is marvelous how quickly they learn to be at home there. Here is Bacchus, with a spicy fragment of calamus root in his hand trampling down the blue-eyed grass, and skipping, with the air of a hunter born, into the thicket to escape Artemis, whose robes . . . startle the humming birds, silence the green tree frogs, and fill the hot air with the perfumes of peppermint and pennyroyal. It is a queer landscape, but one of new natural beauties, frankly and sympathetically discovered, and it forms a *mise en scene* which, I make bold to say, would have scandalized neither Keats nor Spenser."

It may be subject of question whether the touch of fancy and romance be not what primarily sets a-tingle the æsthetic delight of the Anglo-Saxon. And the carrying charm of Mr. Cawein's treatment of myth and legend seems to lie, it may be said, in the fact that he puts upon these imaginations calm and fair a touch of fancy and romance, vitalizing them before the reader's vision till they pass from the region of insubstantiality and become glowing entities. We hear the "sweet Greek of Pan's old madrigals;" we see them "advance beneath green hollowed roofs of forest glades, their feet gone mad with music. . . .

"The Dryad dancing by the forest tree,  
Her hair wild blown; the Faun with listening ear,  
Deep in the bosage, kneeling on one knee,  
Watching the wandering Oread draw near,  
Her wild heart beating like a honey-bee  
Within a rose.—All, all the myths of old,  
All, all the bright shapes of the Age of Gold  
Peopling the wonder-worlds of Poetry."

The fancy that touches with its spell this mythology of the Greek world is equally at home in its native Gothic atmosphere of Mab, Puck and Ariel. The enchantment of "magic casements and faery lands forlorn" is upon Mr. Cawein in a manner most singular to these supposedly most prosaic days of machinery and materialism. Despite the peril (for the critic) of such statements and such comparisons, it may surely be said that never has the American fancy played so airily, and rarely since "Midsummer-Night's Dream" and Keats' lines, has English invention revelled so naturally and so delightfully in the thin air of exquisite illusion, as in the fairy poems of Madison Cawein. Taking a hint from Ariel's remark about his home in a cowslip's bell, his delicate fancy, almost too childlike if it were not so irresistibly and uniquely charming, suspects all other flowers thereafter. He looks closely at them and—you may take it or leave it according to the amount of poetic illusion time and life have spared to you—

"There are fairies. I could swear  
 I have seen them busy where  
 Rose leaves loose their scented hair,  
 In the moon light weaving,—weaving  
 Out of starshine and the dew  
 Glinting gown and shimmering shoe;  
 Or within a glow-worm lair,  
 From the dark earth slowly heaving  
 Mushrooms whiter than the moon,  
 On whose tops they sit and croon,  
 With their grig-like mandolins,  
 To fair fairy ladykins,  
 Leaning from the window sill  
 Of a rose or daffodil . . .  
 Shod with hush and winged with fleetness,  
 You may see the Little People,  
 'Round and round the drowsy steeple  
 Of a belfried holyhock,  
 Clothed in phlox and four-o'clock,  
 Gay of gown and pantaloons,—  
 Dancing by the glimmering moon."

In an exquisite poem to the Twilight Moth a line runs:  
 "All day the primroses have thought of thee." It is signifi-

cant of the brotherhood Mr. Cawein finds between the flowers and those light, fluttering creatures—butterflies, crickets, glow worms and their kindred dainty populace of bloom and leaf and grass. His knowledge of them equals that of the naturalists, or shall we say surpasses it? Since he seems to know what science teaches of them, and, besides, he knows some of their secret annals,—that one, from the tall tower of a liriiodendron, is "bell-ringer of Elfland," while another is "minstrel of moisture, troubadour of wetness"—the treetoad in the prose of science, in the golden lore of poetry, the "vague confederate of the whippoorwill, and little intimate of eve's first fluttering star."

To the delicate sensuousness of these poems and their atmosphere of ideal beauty a strong contrast is presented by Mr. Cawein's virile, dramatic employment of a background, stern, simple, neither beautiful nor alluring, to throw into relief some phases of human nature in elemental action of love or hate. Such tense, graphic pieces of work are "The Lynchers," "The Raid," "At the Ferry." "The Feud" is an example of the grotesque beauty of wildness and strangeness:

"Frail ferns and dewy mosses and dark brush,  
Impenetrable briers, deep and dense,  
And wiry bushes—brush that seemed to crush  
The straggling saplings with its tangle, whence  
Sprawled out the ramble of an old rail fence."

It is a background that seems to mould human nature somewhat to its own sombre cast, to foster the typical catastrophe:

"And echoes barked among the hills, and made  
Repeated instants of the shot's distress—  
Then silence—and the trampled bushes awayed;—  
Then silence packed with murder and the press  
Of distant hoofs that galloped riderless."

In Mr. Cawein's reading the heart of man lies very near the heart of nature; the terms for each are interchangeable. A perfect stanza in his poem, "Unrequited," reveals his characteristic manner of going a-field for his tropes. This is his metaphor for an unanswered devotion:

"So have I seen a clear October pool,  
Cold liquid topaz, set within the sear  
Gold of the woodland, tremorless and cool.  
Reflecting all the heartbreak of the year."

In his poems of sentiment where he is not the poet of pastoral loves he is a troubadour. His muse harks back neither to the Elizabethan age, or the eighteenth century, nor does it often resemble the later, complex, self-conscious amorous mood. More than these it suggests the lute song of the ages of chivalry. The ardor of an old romance is in the beautiful lines of "The Awakening," "Floridian," "Love in a Garden." "To Azalis de Mercoeur in Anjou," Pons de Capdeuil in Provence might have sung:

"Awake! the dawn is on the hills!  
Behold at her cool throat a rose,  
Blue-eyed and beautiful she goes,  
Leaving her steps in daffodils  
Awake, arise, and let me see  
Thine eyes whose deeps epitomize  
All dawns that were or are to be,  
Awake! Arise! come down to me!"

If environment be of any psychological value, to such an influence must be attributed the richness and abundance of color in Mr. Cawein's poetry. In such an environment of the Southern Middle West, an environment of gently rolling hills, broad meadows of blue grass and wild flowers, thickets and whole forests still virgin, an atmosphere seldom perfectly clear, usually hung with hazes that foster dreams and romantic meditations, it would seem impossible for a poet to arise whose work would be ethical to the exclusion of sensuous backgrounds, æsthetic significances and such a delight in the use of color as that through which Mr. Cawein's poetic ardor chiefly manifests itself. The richness of his imagery and diction is tropical. Especially in his earlier work he had a passion for the splendor above quoted, "The pomp and the pageant of color." And still, the rose of morning clouds, the gold of sunsets, the rich iridescent harmonies of autumn take his fancy utterly captive till it glows with Oriental affluence, till his words produce the effect of scintillant, vari-

colored gems, heaped together in a prodigal profusion. In his love of light and fire he is a veritable Parsee—"what mines," he cries, "the morning heavens unfold, what far Alaskas of the skies!" And of the evening,

"Heap up the gold of all the world—  
What is it to the gold, cloud-curved,  
That rivers through the sunset's caves?"

"The Anthem of Dawn" is the pæan of a consummate sun-worshipper. Its long lines have caught the majestic movement of some dawn when the

"East was a priest who adored, with offerings of gold and of gems."

The refining of this exuberant love of light and color is significant of Mr. Cawein's increasing artistry, as his possession of it is evidence of the distinctive ardor of his talent and temperament. Though frequently his line-endings are rather assonances than rhymes, though sometimes a phrase or a broad, tenuous net-work of metaphors is spun out a little too far to capture some seductive element of beauty, though now and then a line is marred by the employment of a word strong but not poetic, or by the use of nouns as verbs, more and more an industrious art can be found at work in the tempering of rough rhymes, the moderating of too copious alliterative faculty, in a growing command of rhythms. In "Loke and Artemis," his blank verse is fluent and dignified, his lyrics more and more gain in beauty of melody and syllabic harmonies. His work in the sonnet-form invites particular and extended comment. He employs it frequently, and it is by no means a scanty plot of ground for his muse. Though considering it is a limited form, his elaboration and color within the fourteen lines have the value of some precious small canvas which shows surprising depths of woods, depths of sunlight and shade. In many lovely sonnets, "There Was a Rose," "The Death of Love," etc., he unlocks his heart with this key; in numerous others, notably, "The Blue Bird" and "Spring," he arrests a moment some beguiling aspect of nature. While in "Simulacra" and "Caverns" is revealed an unusual power of compressing infinite riches of color and



imagination in a little room. "Caverns," with Keats' descriptive lines on Ailsa Rock, one thinks of as one of the few instances where grandeur, sublimity and awe have been conjured within the compass of a sonnet:

"Aisles and abysses; leagues no man explores,  
Of rock that labyrinths and night that drips,  
Where everlasting silence broods, with lips  
Of adamant, o'er earthquake-built floors.

\* \* \* \* \*

Here where primordial fear, the Gorgon, sits  
Staring all life to stone in ghastly mirth,  
I seem to tread with awe no tongue can tell,—  
Beneath vast domes, by torrent-tortured pits,  
Mid wrecks terrific of the ruined Earth,—  
An ancient causeway of forgotten Hell."

A reference has been made to the romantic as well as classic bent of Mr. Cawein's mind. In a number of long poems on mediæval themes he has revived the spirit of romance as well as in his serenades and lighter measures. In a more extended consideration of his work it would be easy to note his success in these fields, a success in recreating the atmosphere and glamour of the days of love and bravery. But much as these achievements of his imagination excite admiration and sustain interest, as they do in "The Son of Evwrae" and "Accolon of Gaul," their appeal is perhaps less than that of other phases of his work upon which emphasis has been laid. The taking of a mediæval castle is still a glorious emprise for the imaginative reader, but yet it is no longer the keen delight it once was. It has not the inspiration of some adventure into the "far, the dear-desired" region of ideal beauty, "walled round with morning's amethyst," nor does it give the genuine joy of some return

"Through woodland and through mead  
To orchards fruited; or to fields in bloom,  
Or briery fallows, like a mighty room,  
Through which the winds swing censers of perfume,  
And where deep blackberries spread miles of fruit;—  
A splendid feast that stayed the ploughboy's foot  
When to the tasseling acres of the corn  
He drove his team, fresh in the primrose morn."

It is in these two expressions of the poetic spirit, a striving to capture some hints of the evasive ideal beauty and the truthful impassioned rendition of the actual rich beauty of the world of nature, that Mr. Cawein at once asserts his own individuality and his kinship with Keats, Shelley and Tennyson with whom his ardent and exquisite talent has most affinity.

## Charles D. McIver

BY WALTER H. PAGE,  
Editor of the "World's Work"

While we go on in our routine of life, we judge men by many standards—whether they are successful and are doing their tasks well; or are of service to their fellows and to society; or are interesting and helpful companions; or are courageous. Almost every rule that we have is more or less modified by the personality of the man to whom it is applied. We even suspend judgment on one another—waiting to see how each of us continues to do his task or to live his life.

But, when death startles us and cuts a career short and we must measure the dead man once for all, we find ourselves asking first of all the one question, how true and helpful he was to his friends, to his community and to human kind; for that is the highest test after all.

Apply that test to Dr. Charles D. McIver and he measures so large—he reaches the full proportions of a great nature.

I suppose that he was regarded as a close personal friend by more men and women, and he had the intimate confidence of more men and women, than any other man in North Carolina. Whoever knew him came close to him. The man who was most engrossed and the slow fellow who had merely dull and intermittent impulses to be of some use in the world—each alike counted him a friend. He was a brother to every human creature. When you or I say, then, that we have lost one of our best friends, we are but two of a great host of men and women who are saying the same thing. Now this genius for helpfulness is a quality of only very great natures.

Think, too, of the cheerfulness and of the hopefulness of the man! That also is a mark of his great nature. His beaming, buoyant personality was a form of courage that never flagged; it was a constant inspiration to everybody whom it reached, and it reached far.

At Greensboro, on the day when he was buried, there were men prominent in educational work from Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and New York, who through their tears fell to telling humorous anecdotes that illustrated his unbounded cheerfulness and kindliness. Not one could have recalled, if he had tried, a single bitter thing that he had said or a single unworthy act that he had done. They called him affectionately "Charles" or "Mac"—these leaders in educational work. What a tribute to a man that his friends should laugh and weep at once as they mourned his loss—what a touching evidence that he touched the fundamental emotions!

His own heavy burdens, which he carried as only the bravest men can carry burdens, were never visible; and that also was a mark of a big character. I doubt if any man can recall Charles McIver's uttering a single complaining word.

But these qualities of companionship and kindliness and cheerfulness and bravery are not all that come to mind in the grateful and affectionate memory that we who loved him shall ever have of him. He had another quality that only large men have—he was a builder of things. He did not work aimlessly. We have had no man among us who carried a truer singleness of purpose or who had a more definite aim in life than he—call it an inspiration or a vision, or a business, as you like—it was all these. He moulded out of the public opinion of North Carolina a great institution, which embodied a clear cut idea and was founded on a definite philosophy of human progress. It is a noble idea, too; for the State Normal and Industrial College for Women was literally made by him out of the opinion of the State as the bricks in its buildings were made out of clay by their moulders. Everybody who knew him had heard him expound his doctrine of the right training of women—heard his arraignment of modern life—not in North Carolina only nor in particular, but of modern society in general—for its neglect of women. About this he had the zeal of a crusader. Think how few other men in North Carolina or in other States, have ever built outright a great institution;

and you have a measure of the man. He built it once forever, too, for he planted it deep in the affections of the people and especially the women.

Twice he had a chance possibly to become President of the State University, but he considered his work in building a college for women, of greater importance. He might at any time during the last six or eight years, have received an income that would have relieved him of all financial care and provided luxuriously for his family if he had given his time to business undertakings. He was even advised by some of his closest friends to accept such an offer. But the building and the development of a great college for the training of women (and by the training of women, the lifting up of the whole people) was dearer to him than all other aims in life; and he never hesitated.

That, too, was the work of a great nature—that he took his pleasure in building a worthy institution and not in his personal comfort nor in the advancement of any personal ambition or wish for future honor.

May I say frankly here that the State must learn to pay men, who fill positions like his, much higher salaries than it now pays. Else it will not always get the services of the best men. Dr. McIver was a pitifully underpaid public servant. The State has passed the place where it need be niggardly or can afford to be niggardly to its great public servants.

And he had the quality not only of a builder, but another high quality still—the quality of a popular leader. There is no way of accurately measuring his influence in developing public sentiment in North Carolina in particular, but in other States as well, to public educational activity and to a higher life for all the people. Outside the State, he was, I think, everywhere regarded as the most influential leader of the people for popular education that this generation of men has known.

A rare genius for friendship, a cheerful and uplifting personality, a high and absorbing purpose which admitted of no unselfishness, the great faculty of a builder of institutions and the great faculty of leading public opinion for the highest aims—Charles McIver had all these; and any

man who had such an aggregation of high qualities is a great man. His going leaves us poorer (a great multitude of us who had his friendship), and it leaves the State and the nation poorer. Yet State and individuals are very much richer for his life and work.

I should like to write it here (and many men could make the same confession) that I owe him an incalculable debt which can be paid only by an affectionate remembrance—for his cheerfulness, his humor, his inspiration and helpfulness of spirit, the example of his unswerving devotion to one high task, his balanced and happy view of life, his noble and intimate services of brotherhood. To us all and for us all, he was brother, builder, leader, a great force in our lives and in the life of his time. The people of the commonwealth—all the people of the commonwealth—had in him as true a friend and servant as was ever born in the whole long list of our patriots and heroes. None ever loved the people more truly than he. He was of us; he stood for us; he worked for us; he believed in us; and he had no ambitions but ambitions for our development. That is the measure of his greatness of nature and it should be the measure of our affectionate gratitude.

His intellectual grasp of the fundamental problems of a democracy was strong; and it was not an intellectual grasp only, but a moral grasp also. He had as clear and well-reasoned a philosophy of social improvement as Jefferson had, and he had worked it out from life—he had not merely got it from books. And he had a humor and a faith in the mass of men as genuine as Lincoln's. He was a fundamental, elemental man—not a mere product of education and environment; and this is the reason that he was of close kinship to us all. Nobody knew him who did not have much in common with him.

A worthy statue of him, for which we have the privilege of subscribing, will do us credit; for it will show those who come after us what kind of man we set high value on—the man who nobly builds for the people and serves the people unselfishly. That is the kind of man to honor, for that kind of man is the highest product and vindication of our democracy.

## Some Phases of Educational Theory\*

BY WILLIAM HARRY HECK,

Professor of Education in the University of Virginia

One of my students, who slipped a little below the passing mark on his first term's work, afterwards made a suggestion to me, which I will interpret by a metaphor. When the educational stewards had run out of new courses to put on the college bill of fare, they ingeniously made another course by jumbling the old ones into a kind of hash, which they labelled Education. According to this view the Curry School at the University of Virginia is to devote itself to a pedagogical hash, a new dish now being served at most of the college and university restaurants in America, Germany, England and France, such is the binding force of international custom.

Though in reality courses in education have been developed in normal schools and colleges to meet the growing demand for trained teachers there is a deal of truth in the foregoing suggestion. Over and above the training of teachers in the art of their profession, the study of education attempts to interpret the educational process as a whole—its past, present and future value to society, its aim, its curricula, its methods, its equipment, its administration.

To use one of its own technical terms, such a study is still in the period of plastic infancy. The history of even school education carries us back almost to the dawn of civilization. The best of human experience and thought has been expressed in the educational systems of ancient and modern nations, master minds from Plato to Herbert Spencer have discussed our problems with conviction and power, both present theory and practice have proved themselves of inestimable worth, and thousands of men and women are today studying the subject in Europe and America. Yet we cannot, we probably never can, rest satisfied with the best that has been said or done in education. The subject is too

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\*Address delivered at the inauguration of the Curry School of Education at the University of Virginia.

vitality connected with the comprehensive and evolving life of society, is too dependent on the data furnished it by partially developed sciences and philosophies, is too baffling in its pursuit of human ideals to be finally solved, until man has reached his destination and the meaning of life is laid bare before him.

This evening I ask you to consider tentatively some of the phases of education which will tend to define its real significance. My discussion will be based upon the belief that both the child and society are physically, mentally and morally the products of a universal evolution, which has produced all the environment of the child and which exhibits the real or seeming purpose of an immanent or transcendent intelligence toward the higher and higher expressions of human life in social relations. Both the child and society seem scientifically unintelligible unless interpreted by constant reference to the evolutionary process; a theory of education which fails to consider education as growing out of, co-operating with, and furthering this process is not only out of harmony with present scientific and philosophical conclusions, but is also practically misleading in its effect on pedagogical aims and methods. So wide is the belief in evolution that educational discussions opposed to the fundamentals of such a belief would rightly be condemned by the real students of education in America and Europe.

It is a commonplace of biology that adaptation to environment is the necessity of life. Every organism, however simple, however complex, must be adjusted to the conditions in which it lives, or it dies, having forfeited its right to live. And the more complex the organism, physically and mentally, the more complex are the demands for adjustment made by the environment. Following Herbert Spencer, John Fiske thus states this truth: "Life, including also intelligence as the highest known manifestation of life, is the continuous establishment of relations within the organism in correspondence with relations existing or arising in the environment. . . . The degree of life is low or high, according as the correspondence between internal and external relations is simple or complex, limited or extensive, partial or complete, imperfect or perfect."



This quotation will serve as a criterion by which we can judge the value of educational theory and practice. True education is a life process; therefore it must adjust the physical, mental, and moral life of the child to his physical, mental, and moral environment, to the social conditions in which he lives and to the place in those social conditions that he expects to occupy as parent, neighbor, citizen and worker. In so far as education does not give this adjustment, it narrows or dissipates the life of the child, instead of giving a broad background of social adaptation and also a sharp point of contact in his particular profession. The vital question regarding the education of the child in home and society is this: What increase of adjustment, and therefore what increase of life, will this discipline, this lesson, this activity give this particular child to his particular environment, so that he can get the most out of and give the most to that environment? This is the high, inspiring utilitarianism of the evolutionary process, harking back to the first and lowest living organism and reaching forward infinitely to the best that man can dream of for himself and for society. It is to the glory of the revolution now taking place in educational theory and practice that efforts are being made, slow but sure, to make this universal demand for adjustment the consciously systematized principle of the entire educative process.

Considering then, as a presupposition, the necessity of adjusting the living organism to its environment, we will consider, in a very brief and non-technical way, three of the problems connected with the subject of education. These problems may be suggested in the form of questions. First—What is there in the nature of society which makes necessary the education of the child that is born into it? Second—What is there in the nature of the child that makes possible and necessary the education demanded of it by society? Third—What is there in this relation of the child to society that should determine the purpose of the child's education? In a half hour, I can only touch upon a few answers to such questions.

Our first question concerns the necessity for education

existing in the nature of society. Education may first be defined as the means by which one generation transmits its ideals, its institutions, its science, its art to the next generation; or, conversely, education is the means by which the next generation enters into and becomes possessed of the culture of the previous generation. Not only the external products, but the inner spirit, the industrial and social tendencies of civilization cannot be inherited; the child born in America today is as free from most of them as was the savage of three thousand years ago. Without education this child would lapse back toward barbarism, and our hard-earned progress, both spiritual and material, would be to him but an unrealized and dead possibility. Civilization, I repeat, is not inheritable, but must be acquired by the individuals of each and every generation. This individual acquisition of the accumulated and sifted products of human history is education, whether it be in the home, the school, the social and civic activities, or the church. Education, therefore, is not a luxury of, not an attachment to, civilization, but its very essential, its precondition.

As this apotheosis may impress some of you as platitudinal and others as exaggerated or even untrue, you will pardon me for supporting it by an excursion into the field of biology. The biologists are not yet agreed as to whether any characteristic, physical or mental, which the parent acquires, can be inherited by the offspring, though all are agreed that, even if a fact, such inheritance would not cover a large part of the acquired characteristics of the parent. We laymen ought to see the force of both these positions; but this address will give a reserved emphasis to the claims of the Neo-Darwinian school, now greatly in the majority, that the strengthening of a bird's wing, the development of a dog's instinct, the blinding of a man's eye, the trained skill of a specialist, the materialistic ideals of a community, the religious intensity of an age—all such progression or retrogression, in so far as it is acquired by the parent, cannot be inherited organically. The offspring will begin life on, or about, the same level as its parent did, with the probable addition of individual variations above or below that level; and whatever advantage the

offspring receives from the experiences, the individual and social acquisitions, of its parents, must similarly be acquired by it through some form of education, guided or unguided by the adult superiority of its parents and other members of the species.

This technical problem is here suggested only for its value to educational theory. However much we reserve our partisanship on the points at issue, we are forced to admit that the non-inheritable nature of most, if not all, of the rapidly evolving motives and products of our social environment makes the education of the child of each generation necessary to the very existence of that environment. If the child could inherit civilization as he does the form, features, and instincts of a human being, or the blue eyes, congenital disposition and intellectual originality of his parents, then the value of education in society and in the home would be reduced just in proportion to the amount of such inheritance. The child is civilized not by heredity, but by education; and social evolution has not resulted through the superiority of the children of successive generations, but through the superiority of the environment of the children of successive generations.

Lloyd Morgan has well summed up such conclusions in the following way, though his position is somewhat extreme and his comparison of man's present adaptability is with past epochs of human history rather than with the lower animals:

"There are some who have contended that if there be no inheritance of acquired characteristics, the past history of our race is inexplicable, and for the future there can be no hope. . . . But we must seek another solution of this problem. This is that as evolution *has been transferred from the organism to his environment* there must be increment somewhere, otherwise evolution is impossible. In social evolution on this view, the increment is by storage in the social environment to which each new generation adapts itself, with no increased native power of adaptation. In the written record, in social traditions, in manifold inventions, which make scientific and industrial progress possible, in the

products of art and the recorded examples of noble lives, we have an environment which is at the same time the product of mental evolution, and affords the condition of the development of each individual's mind today. No one is likely to question the fact that this environment is undergoing steady and progressive evolution. It is perhaps not so obvious that this transference of evolution from the individual to the environment may leave the *faculty* of the race at a standstill, while the *achievements* of the race are progressing by leaps and bounds."

In commenting on this long quotation, we may well ask whether this transference, which makes education more or less an absolute necessity, is not a burden that hinders humanity in its upward climbing? Would not progress be quickened if the child were born equipped for civilization as the fly is born equipped for its simpler environment? These questions take us over into the second phase of our subject, the capacity existing in the nature of the child to receive and profit by the non-inheritable experiences of society. Of course, we realize, at a moment's thought, that with all there is the child must learn, if he lack the capacity for being educated, the next generations would not preserve our present social environment, but would remain more or less stationary in an uncivilized condition for hundreds, if not thousands of years, waiting upon the slow selection of congenital variations to effect any progress whatever. Man would not then be the highest animal on the earth, but lower than the animals he now ridicules as his ancestors. It is mainly the plastic infancy which has made man what he is today, the highest expression of the divine life in the universe, as far as we can judge with our limited vision.

Many fishes, insects and reptiles have no infancy; to their birth endowment no acquisition need be added by experience; they simply repeat by inherited reactions what their ancestors have done for generations; they require little or no parental care, they need no education, they are born fully educated. They are babies and adults at the same time. With them progress is impossible, for they have inherited all they need. But animals more complex in structure and more

complex in their reactions upon their environment, especially birds and mammals (including man), have a period of infancy proportioned in its length and plastic nature to the complexity of adult adjustment. They are born partly undeveloped and dependent; they must learn through individual experiences how to respond to new and complex phases of their surroundings; they are not predetermined in all their reactions to the ways of living of their ancestors; they have within them plastic possibilities of change for better or worse; they can be educated up to their parents' adult level and then possibly rise above that level; therefore they can be progressive. On the other hand, by the very nature of their immaturity, they need protection, food and even instruction from adults; they must be cared for while they receive their education.

In proportion to the length of its infancy and the degree of its plasticity the offspring has not only been enabled to take advantage of the acquired and non-inheritable experiences of the adult members of the species, but also to modify and add to the results of those experiences through its own individual experience. These modifications and additions, which have been of vital advantage to their possessor in the struggle for existence, have been preserved and accumulated through successive generations. Thus we have had an evolution of infancy in more and more complex organisms and also an evolution of a necessity for more and more of this infancy. Both as cause and effect, the increase of capacity in the organism for being educated has more or less paralleled the increase of the demand from the environment for this capacity. Here is the biological advantage in learning rather than inheriting acquired characteristics or experiences. The infant must learn and can learn, and the more he must learn, the more he can learn, and the more he can learn the more he must learn. Such is the marvellous balance in nature of end and means.

But we are particularly interested in the value of these suggestions for the subject of the evening. The human infant is by far the most plastic of all animals and has by far the longest period of infancy; in spite of his many ripe and

unripe instincts he is the most helpless, requires the most parental and community care, has the most to learn, is the most dependent upon education, and adds the most through his individual experience. His superiority as an evolutionary product is evidenced by his needs. In his weakness there is strength, in his ignorance there is knowledge, in his helplessness there is maturity. He is the heir of millions of ages because he is a child. During fifteen to thirty years of his life, according to the character of his particular social environment and the place he will occupy in that environment, the human infant is acquiring, physically, mentally, and morally the non-inheritable experiences that have similarly and in part been acquired by the generations before him. Standing then on the shoulders of previous generations, he raises the standard of civilization higher than it has ever been raised before, but not as high, thanks to the evolutionary process, as it will be raised by children of the next generation. Thus, on and on, up and up the standard bearers go. The emotions, volitions, judgments and skill of civilization are inconceivably valuable possessions, not because the child is born *with* them as intrinsic factors of his organic life, but because he is born *into* them and through his acquisition of them he becomes the restorer, the preserver, the director, and the advancer of civilization. That is the inspiring advantage of the necessity for education in the evolution of society.

Starting with one extreme in the lowest animal species, with no infancy and therefore with little or no possibility of advance, we have the other extreme in man with a quarter of a century of infancy and therefore with infinite possibilities of advance. If some low species of fish had evolved such a complex environment as man has evolved, we have every reason to believe that its period of infancy would be as long as that of the child of America today, because of the elaborate demands that environment would make upon it for adult efficiency. Now it needs no education, then it would not rest satisfied with twenty years of education, and, besides home training and social activities, there would have to be kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, colleges and universities for aspiring young fishes who would seek to keep abreast of the times in their day and generation.

Combining our answers to the first and second questions, with the preliminary emphasis upon adjustment as necessary to life and efficiency, we can define human education as *the use of plastic infancy in man for the acquisition of the non-inheritable experience of society in order that the individual may be developed and efficiently adjusted to his social environment*. The third question naturally follows, What is the purpose of this adjustment we seek in education? What evolutionary value is there in the educational making of the individual an efficient member of society?

The answer to these questions has been implied several times in the course of this address. The child is adjusted to the social environment for the purpose of contributing to that environment. He belongs not to himself, but to society, he is educated not for himself, but for society, he must serve not himself, but society. The individual, and therefore the education of the individual, is the means; society, and therefore the education of society, is the end. As thus stated, the purpose of educational adjustment implies a solution of one of the greatest problems, practical as well as theoretical, that can be presented. Consequently, this purpose should be gravely questioned. In the evolutionary process what is the significance of the individual in relation to the species? We readily see that the species exists only in the individuals composing it and there are no sharp barriers to define one species from others closely akin. There is nothing in nature but individuals; we recognize common likenesses and differences and we classify them, believing that such classifications are based upon a seeming, if not an absolute, objective reality. But is the development of the individual the purpose of the evolutionary process, in so far as we can attribute and interpret that purpose? In biological evolution, varying with the species, thousands or hundreds of individuals are born; only dozens survive in the struggle for existence and transmit the congenital, and possibly a few of the acquired variations which have enabled them to succeed. Thus are accumulated those infinite likenesses and differences that astonish the student of biology. Though the



ratio of the offspring to the biologically selected adults decreases proportionately in the more complex forms of life, the individual seems to exist only for the purpose of his contribution to the species. However, there can never be a stage in this development of the species when there will be anything but individuals to represent and profit by it. There are then two fundamental questions to be asked. First, what is the goal—the perfect type or the perfect individuals representing that type? Second, what is the significance *per se* of the individuals representing the successive and temporary stages in the evolution up to that perfect type or those perfect individuals? Metaphysical speculation here takes the place of scientific surety, and such questions would be omitted this evening were they not essential to a consideration of educational theory based on the theory of evolution. They suggest a problem involved in every effort to improve the human individual and society and are therefore vital and comprehensive in their educational implication. I ask them, but I cannot answer. We must each meet them face to face and grapple with them as we will.

However, both biology and sociology teach us that there is no hopeless dilemma here as to whether we shall consider the individual or society as the supreme object in education. The individual must be adjusted to its environment in order to live, and the environment also gains in proportion to the efficiency of this adjustment; the individual must assert itself in distinction from and in union with the other members of its species, and the species is benefited by this individuality; the individual develops through contact with, adjustment to, and service of the other members of its species, and the species can be developed in no other way than by this development of the individual. In society it is the most highly individualized and socialized person that is the most efficient. The better the individual, the better is the society which he demands and makes; the better the society, the better is the individual which it demands and makes. In education there is no need to seek an antagonism between a fetich worship of the individual, anarchistically asserting himself in contradis-



tion to society, and a suppression of individuality either down or up to the dead level of a mediocre mean. Society, the social experience, is the means of educating the individual; individuality, the individual experience, is the means of educating society. Enrich the individual life through the social life and you will thereby enrich the social life through the individual life. Both society and the individual must serve to be educated and be educated to serve.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**COTTON: ITS CULTIVATION, MARKETING, MANUFACTURE, AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE COTTON WORLD.** By Charles William Burkett and Clarence Hamilton Poe. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1906,—xii, 331 pp.

**FROM THE COTTON FIELD TO THE COTTON MILL, A STUDY OF THE INDUSTRIAL TRANSITION IN NORTH CAROLINA.** By Holland Thompson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906,—x., 284 pp.

It is significant that the quickened industrial life of the South has during the present year found literary expression in the almost simultaneous publication by writers of the same State of two books so noteworthy as Burkett and Poe's "Cotton" and Holland Thompson's "From the Cotton Field to the Cotton Mill,"—one devoted in the main to cotton growing and the other to cotton manufacture. Dr. Albert Shaw points out in the leading article of this *QUARTERLY* that the pressing economic problems of the South are those of production rather than of distribution. Relatively to the other sections of the country, the South has been poor. Her agriculture has been antiquated and wasteful, and it is only recently that her fuel and mineral resources have been largely developed and her great water powers harnessed to the wheels of manufacture. Much as has been done, her first economic problem is not yet that of the just distribution of wealth between men and classes, but rather that of the bringing of men into better organized and more efficient and productive relations with nature so that there may be more wealth to distribute. From greater, more valuable and more varied crops, from more extensive manufactures and trade the South must draw nourishment for the desired progress of her people, whether in comfort, education, civil government, literature or the fine arts.

Burkett and Poe's "Cotton" is a contribution to the cause of scientific methods of production in agriculture, and to that of more economical methods of marketing the crop. Money spent for this book is one of the best investments a

cotton planter could make. It is popular, readable in every page, beautifully illustrated, and an exponent of the best methods of cotton growing. It is full of information about the cotton plant, its varieties, seed selection, methods of cultivation, restoration of exhausted soils, fertilization, choice and use of tools, diseases of the cotton plant, insect enemies, ginning, marketing, storing of cotton, government reports on cotton, prices, manufactures, by-products and what not.

An academic writer could hardly allow the historical side of this work to pass without criticism. Suspicion is aroused by the first sentence of Chapter I in which Mr. Poe disclaims the intention of inflicting upon the reader "any exhaustive review of the uninteresting remarks on cotton which pedantic scholars have picked up here and there in ancient literature." He has not done so, and seems to have suffered "agony" from the "enforced reading of several chapters of such matter." Hence the historical account of cotton is meager. One notes that several strikingly interesting as well as uninteresting facts have been omitted; for instance the account of the introduction of sea-island cotton into the United States as given in the first chapter of Hammond's "Cotton Industry." The account of Whitney's invention of the cotton gin seems inadequate. It is misleading in stating that Holmes of Georgia, obtained in 1796 a patent on a "gin which represented some useful features not possessed by the Whitney patent," without also stating that the Holmes patent was set aside by the courts in November, 1802, as an infringement on the Whitney patent. However, Messrs. Burkett and Poe are not writing for an academic audience, but for the Southern cotton planter, and, if they help him to more productive agricultural methods, one can readily overlook a reluctance to delve deeply into the uninteresting remarks of "pedantic scholars" in either ancient or modern literature.

Mr. Holland Thompson's "From the Cotton Field to the Cotton Mill" is a careful and well balanced study of the development of manufacturing industry in an agricultural State. As a contribution to the social and economic history of North Carolina, it is worthy of great praise. It is not,

like the work previously reviewed, calculated to aid in the technical processes of production, but it is rather a description of the recent advance of a people into new branches of production and of the social problems connected with the transition. The responsible leaders of this advance have much to gain from a thoughtful consideration of Mr. Thompson's book.

The enterprise and initiative of the cotton mill builders has been rewarded with large returns. Mr. D. A. Tompkins, of Charlotte, is quoted as estimating that the average net profits for a period of twenty years up to 1900 were about 15 per cent. Instances of 40 to 60 per cent dividends were not unknown. In such mills the plant had been enlarged from profits without proportionately increasing the capitalization. On the other hand wages have been low and hours long. Taking everything into consideration, however, Mr. Thompson thinks that "the operatives are not wretchedly paid." He speaks of signs of the development of such a class consciousness among the operatives as will lead them to organize in the future to secure a larger share of the product of the industry in which they are engaged. Already the rate of wages is rising and hours are being shortened.

Current effort to secure legal restrictions upon the use of child labor lends special interest to the chapter on "The Child in the Mill." The existence of child labor is explained by the fact that it is prevalent in all agricultural societies, and that it is consequently a natural characteristic of an agricultural society suddenly engaged in manufacturing. Without placing any reliance upon the pitiful stories told by professional sensation mongers, Mr. Thompson finds that "speaking broadly, the physical effect of the work is undoubtedly bad, though not all are affected unfavorably." Night work is especially harmful. One manufacturer writes to Mr. Thompson, "Neither evil (child labor nor illiteracy) nor both together, is half so great as night work for women and children." Another says, "Night work hurts worse morally than it does physically, and every sane man knows what a strain on the system night work is." Children are extensively employed in the departments commonly operated at

night. Another great injury to the mill children is the deprivation of educational opportunities caused by entering the mill at too early an age.

After a discussion of the causes which lead various classes of parents to press their children into the mills, the managers are defended against the charge that they oppress the helpless. "The employers," it is concluded, "are not primarily to blame for child labor. Such labor is simply a stage in the development of an industrial society."

One expects but looks in vain for a positive conclusion as to the wisdom of further child labor legislation. Mr. Thompson's chapter prepares one for the approval of moderate restrictive legislation, especially such as would prohibit the night labor of children and ensure to them a fair chance for elementary education. But he contents himself with recounting what has been done, and risks no statement more positive than that "Further legislation may be expected before many years."

WILLIAM H. GLASSON.

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THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES AND UNIVERSITY STUDY. By Friedrich Paulsen, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin. Authorized translation by Frank Thilly, Professor of Psychology in Princeton University, and William W. Elwang. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906,—441 pp.

Prof. Paulsen has dedicated his book to the academic youth of Germany and thereby explained its primary aim: "To serve as guide and counsellor to the student who is looking for general information in the domain which he enters upon matriculation." In his own words, "The subject matter of the book is the German university system, as it exists within and also beyond the political boundaries of the empire." He has "honestly sought to see and describe things as they are," and in discussions of all problems "striven to recognize that element of reason in things which is the essence of everything wholesome."

But in spite of this dedication and primary aim the book should find a far wider public than the German university

students. All serious-minded persons in Germany or beyond its borders, especially in America, will find here a deal to interest and instruct them; for the fundamental problems and facts of human life necessarily suggested by a discussion of so important a force in the education of the race as is the German university are handled in such a wise and kindly spirit by the author, himself a learned, fair-minded, truth-loving man, that almost no one could read the book without great profit. The fact is, the book contains so much of wide, even universal interest and gives so often, in unexpected places the valuable opinion of a worthy man wise in books and the world, it is impossible to do it justice in a short review. I can explain better what I mean by citing some of the author's words of advice to students of theology and clergymen. After telling them (p. 390) that "mere theological learning and firmness in dogmatics and apologetics are no longer sufficient," that the true clergyman, "to win and guide souls, must know their troubles and doubts, their thoughts and dogmas," must have deeply experienced these things and "achieved freedom and certainty for himself," he adds: "And, now, finally, two other things are needed in the business of saving souls: Wisdom and patience. . . . If through large experience one has learned to know human nature without the loss of love and confidence, all the subjective conditions for the calling have been met." Earlier in the book (p. 238) he has explained to students that they cannot escape doubt at the university—"how can they, when they have found it everywhere, at school, in the parish?" "There is nothing left but to pass through doubt to a personally experienced faith in God, the God who has revealed himself to us in Jesus, as he can reveal himself to men in a man."

Such examples could be multiplied. Read his words to officials of the government, especially page 400; to physicians, especially page 405, where he points out that in Germany, at least, a new responsibility has fallen upon them, since from some cause or other, whether it be "a decreasing confidence in theology or an increasing confidence in medical science and art or not, the fact itself cannot be

doubted that the physician is more and more assuming the place which once belonged to the clergyman, the place of an adviser in all the great and serious affairs of life."

But of course the book appeals more directly to all men professionally interested in education. Prof. Thilly is probably not wrong in his opinion (translator's preface, p. viii) "that it is the most satisfactory exposition of university problems and the most helpful, practical guide in solving them that has been published in recent years."

After a short chapter on the general character of the German university, Book I follows with a clear outline of the history of German universities from the Middle Ages through the 19th century. In the following books all customs and problems are treated historically, and such an historical survey is generally very illuminating. Book II is devoted to the organization of the university of today and its place in public life; Book III discusses university teachers and university instruction; Book IV, students and academic study, and Book V, the particular "schools" of the university.

Interesting to us are the author's views on co-education (pp. 114-116); for certainly the wisdom of this experiment, at least at the universities, has not yet even in America been fully demonstrated. Justice demands, he says, that woman be given the opportunity for a better education than she once enjoyed, for "the right to work, to create for one's self a sphere of action commensurate with one's ability and to achieve a higher station in life, is the most important of human rights." And yet granting the necessity of such concession, he does not expect such "great intellectual progress to result from it as do some others . . . for the history of the sciences and arts hardly leaves any room for doubt that real creative activity has, in general, been bestowed by nature in a larger measure upon the male than upon the female."

Especially interesting is Chapter III of Book III (pp. 227-258) on *Lehrfreiheit*—freedom of teaching, in which he demands absolute freedom of the university teacher to present the truth as he sees it. "One restriction" (p. 235), he imposes on the professor of theology: "He must be rooted in

the soil of this historical life; he must be in sympathy with the great religious event of humanity which we call Christianity, he must experience it as the most valuable content of our life, to be realized more and more completely by us. . . . A person who fails to do that . . . as an honest man—will have to lay down his office, so that no one may be deceived with respect to his attitude."

As a correlate of freedom of teaching he holds fast to the principle of freedom of learning; i. e., election rather than compulsion (pp. 283-296). History and experiment prove the wisdom of giving the student the right to elect his courses and making him so a master of himself. This principle of *Lernfreiheit*, to be sure, is not without its faults and dangers; "by this process even young men, who, with proper care, would have developed into very serviceable officials, come to grief and ruin. They represent the price which we must pay for the school of freedom. It is costly but cannot be had for less; the young must be exposed to such risks if we are to have men. . . . The individual must depend upon himself, upon his own will. . . . Let there be no illusive security."

Aside from the merits mentioned the book has still another: it gives often an insight into modern German life and conditions hardly to be got from an ordinary source. I cite as an example the discussion (p. 119) of such topics as "the social position of the academically educated;" or (pp. 125-136): "How the academically educated class is recruited." The author's assertion in the latter discussion (p. 128) is startling—that "Kant, Herder, Fichte, Winckelmann, Heyne, Voss all came from poor families which today could hardly think of sending their sons to college, not to speak of preparing them for an academic career."

From a consideration of statistics of students in the various faculties (schools) during the years 1831-36 and 1892-93 the author draws with seeming correctness (p. 136) the conclusion that "the ministry has lost in social importance, in the power to satisfy the social needs, while the vocations of the physician and teacher have gained in scope and importance: the sense of their necessity has grown both extensively and intensively."

W. H. WANNAMAKER.



SIR WALTER SCOTT. By Andrew Lang. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906,—vii., 216 pp.

Mr. Lang is of all men now living perhaps the best fitted to write about Sir Walter Scott. He is a Scotchman who has explored every nook and corner of Scottish history and tradition, and hence has a knowledge of the historical background of Scott's writings. "Born in the center of Scott's sheriffdom," he has been a lifelong student of the novels and poems of Scott. He has had access to nearly all of the manuscript material, being on friendly terms with the only surviving member of Scott's family to whom this volume is dedicated. Accurate knowledge gained from all these sources is united with sympathy and enthusiasm. The feature of the book is an unrestrained admiration of Scott—notable at a time when, as the author says, "an acquaintance with Fitzgerald's 'Rubaiyat,' an exhaustive ignorance of all literature of the past, and an especial contempt for Scott, are the equipment of many critics." He is professedly partial, for every name of a place in the ballads and the novels is dear and familiar to him. He is "a zealot who has read most of the Waverley novels many times from childhood up to age, and finds them better, finds fresh beauties in them, every time he reads them." Against the indifference and superciliousness of many modern critics he would place "three generations who have warmed their hands at the hearth of his genius, who have drunk of his enchanted cup, and eaten of his fairy bread, and been happy through his gifts."

In this spirit of loyalty and enthusiasm the book is written. The author very modestly says that he has simply compressed the essence of Lockhart's great book into a small space. Speaking of his re-examination of the Scott manuscripts he pays tribute to the skill and insight of Lockhart in these words: "No explorer need go thither again save to confirm his appreciation of Lockhart's work. All other books on Scott are but its satellites, and their glow, be it brighter or fainter, is a borrowed radiance." And yet there is in Mr. Lang's short volume a vivacity of style, a penetration of mind, and a fine mastery of the art of literary criti-

cism that should make the book welcome to all students of Scott and to the general reader who will not take time to read Lockhart. It would be difficult to find a better general criticism of the Waverley novels than that on pages 88 to 109. Acute are many of his comparisons of Scott with other writers, notably of "Woodstock" with "Henry Esmond."

Mr. Lang bears one grudge against Scott, and that is that he killed the formation of libraries: henceforth people purchased few books except novels. "It was Scott, the greatest of readers, who inaugurated the reign of novel reading, and very much chagrined he would be could he see the actual results: the absolute horror with which mankind shuns every other study." Throughout the book there are various answers to Carlyle's unsympathetic essay on Scott, especially page 109. As to the point that Scott did not speak out upon the great questions of life, Mr. Lang says, in a passage that sums up all the spirit of the man: "Scott was silent, not because he did not reflect, but because he knew the futility of human reflection. 'We are men, and have endured what men are born to bear'—that is his brief philosophy. Why add words about it. The silence of Scott better proves the depth of his thought and the splendour of his courage, than the finest reflections that poets have uttered in immortal words."

E. M.

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RISE OF THE NEW WEST (The American Nation, Vol. XIV). By Frederick Jackson Turner. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1906,—xviii, 366 pp.

Professor Turner's volume in the American Nation Series, leaves little to be desired in its spirit and substance. It covers in a most scholarly manner the period of our national history from 1819 till the inauguration of Jackson in 1829. It is an era in which the consciousness of the nation is turned away from the problems connected with external affairs, to the problems of internal relations. The War of 1812 was now happily ended. Our long period of halting between a resentment of the insults of England and France was over. We had shown the world that we could fight

both on the land and on the sea. We had even convinced our own selves that there was reasonable stability in our government. Most of our own citizens were content to cease referring to our constitution as an "experiment" of government. Then we turned to the problems of internal development. The tariff of 1816 and the new bank were emergency measures, designed to meet a condition which was critical. These once passed it behooved the nation to determine its policy of development. The bank was for the time a fixture, but to make it work was a task yet to be accomplished. The question of a protective tariff high enough to foster a large system of manufactures was yet to be fought out. The building of the internal improvements necessary to develop the vast interior region was a matter of dispute. The interpretation of the constitution in the light of these problems was another matter which might give trouble to the statesmen. All of these new questions meant a new political alignment. The Virginia group of statesmen was not able to cope with them. The new interests were finding new leaders, and men trained in the old school were being set aside by a people who demanded more of a voice in public life than they had ever had before. This decade, therefore, was a transition period. To write its history is an intricate task. It demands a clear perspective and a wide grasp of forces.

The part the western communities played in this transformation makes it wise to give them the prominence which is implied in the title of the volume. They made nine-tenths of the problem. It was they that made internal improvements a vital question, they that determined the adoption of a high tariff, and they that broke down the rule of the Virginians. Professor Turner, therefore, is justified in beginning his volume with a chapter on "Nationalism and Sectionalism," in which he describes the play of two opposite forces. The former was strong when the chief question was foreign relations, the latter became prominent when the scenes shifted to internal policies. Clay declared in 1823 that the support of great sections should be combined to foster their combined interests.

Following this initial chapter are three others on the social conditions of the New England States, the Middle States, and the South. Then come four chapters on conditions in the West. They deal with the colonization, the development, the commerce and ideals of the West, and the experiences of the far western frontier in this period. They are written in the best manner and contain the results of long inquiry. They make a distinctive acquisition to our historical knowledge.

From this presentation of internal conditions the author turns in chapter IX to political affairs. The strenuous political contest which followed the panic of 1819 is taken up, then we come to the Missouri Compromise, the political parties, the Monroe Doctrine, internal improvements as a political question, the tariff of 1824, and the election of 1824. Four chapters are given to John Quincy Adams's administration, all done in good style. But one of them, "Reaction towards State Sovereignty," is particularly interesting because it recognizes what has some times been overlooked, that there was a substantial theoretical basis for the opposition to Adams which centered in the new Jacksonian movement. The personality of Jackson and the virile activity of the new Democratic party which bore him into power undoubtedly ran away with this theory, but the theory itself always remained below the surface. At times it caused much anxiety in the breasts of his party managers, and it finally became centered in the politics of the South, but in 1825-1828 it was quite strong in New York and other States north of the Potomac. Professor Turner's careful tracing of the history of this idea from 1816 to 1829 must elicit the gratitude of all students of the history of the period.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

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SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER. By Benjamin Blake Minor. Washington and New York: The Neale Publishing Co., 1906,—250 pp.

Mr. Benjamin Blake Minor, editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* from 1843 to 1847, has in this volume given a history of the magazine from its beginning in 1834 to its

final number in 1864. In lieu of a complete file, which it is now very difficult to obtain, the book serves to give a good idea of the publishers, editors, and contributors,—likewise the titles, and occasionally the subject matter, of the articles of this, the most noteworthy magazine that was ever published in the South. It lasted longer than any other and at one time had a subscription list of 5,000. One of the editors was Edgar Allan Poe, who, while editor for only a few years, made it celebrated by his earliest stories and poems and notorious for its slashing reviews. Another editor was John R. Thompson, who still has his place in American anthologies, and who, after the Civil War, was literary editor of the New York *Evening Post*. Much credit must also be given to Mr. White, the founder, and to Mr. Minor himself who, by his connection with influential families, contributed largely to the popularity of the magazine.

It is difficult to tell from examination of the files of the magazine which articles were original and which were copied from other magazines. Mr. Minor throws some light on this subject, but not much. The long list of contributors at the end of the volume evidently includes many who never contributed directly to the magazine, for example, Longfellow, Thackeray and Dickens. But it is well known that in the files of the magazine are found the earliest writings of Donald G. Mitchell, Simms, Hayne, Timrod, and John Esten Cooke. The author states that Moncure D. Conway and Sidney Lanier were contributors, but fails to give the articles that they wrote. Matthew F. Maury wrote many articles on military and naval subjects; we are told that one of his articles consisted of eight pages torn from Southey's life of Nelson.

The subjects and partial quotations indicate that in the files of this magazine one can get at the public sentiment of Virginia during the period of its existence. Many addresses of prominent men were published, notably those delivered on commencement occasions and before the Virginia Historical Society. At one time especially, articles appeared written by leading men in the army and navy advocating important reforms. That there was considerable freedom

of opinion and criticism is evident in a trenchant article on the University of Virginia.

With all that is interesting in the book the author has scarcely made good use of his opportunity. There was a good chance to sketch with greater vividness the editors, publishers, and contributors. More light might have been thrown on Richmond as a literary centre. The style is frequently commonplace; the arrangement of material shows lack of constructive power.

E. M.

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**PLANTATION SKETCHES.** By Margaret Devereux. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906,—vi., 169 pp.

"Plantation Sketches" is one of those books full of interest from the fact that its incidents are connected with two periods of our history—slavery and the Civil War—which are closed incidents—periods passed away never to return, but which must ever live in our histories, traditions, story books and poetry. What a charm such a book as this possesses for those blessed with enough sentiment to sympathize with the underlying pathos of such memories. In the simple scenes pictured, we see the real plantation life—the foundation of which was negro slavery—as such life appeared to a woman of the educated and wealthy class of slave owners. It advances no arguments, exploits no theories, solves no problems, but in a charmingly simple style tells things as they occurred.

In the opening chapter we see life on a large plantation on which were many hundreds of slaves—both land and slaves being the absolute property of a young man just out of college married to a girl of seventeen; upon which young couple rested responsibilities far greater than one unacquainted with such life can realize. Here, without statistics and details, we have a delightful and true picture of a manner of life now understood by few—for the participants in that life—both master and slave—have nearly passed away.

In the other stories we find incidents now touching, now amusing, never lacking in interest, and all admirably told.

On page 57 we see General Logan borrowing tables and cut-glass to be used in entertaining Generals Grant and Sherman at dinner. Those who have read "Butler's Book," by General B. F. Butler, will recall what momentous questions were discussed and decided at that dinner.

In the chapter on war reminiscences is a graphic picture of the dread, the dangers and the discomforts to which the Southern women were subjected at the time of the "surrender," even under the most favorable circumstances; and from the facts detailed—not from assertion—we see how implicitly the Southern slave owners trusted their upper servants and with what unflinching loyalty these ex-slaves showed themselves worthy of this confidence. The tribute to Foote—the brave, rough, but chivalrous Yankee soldier—is beautiful without the least effort to be so.

The dialect of the negroes is perfect throughout and free from the exaggerated "negro dialect" so often seen in print, but which no Southern negro ever spoke.

The book is a valuable contribution to clean, wholesome, elevating and readable literature. No one can read it without feeling fully repaid. After putting it down one feels as though he had spent the morning in talking with a refined, educated lady of the old school, rather than in reading a book.

S. F. MORDECAI.

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The following books have been received and are reserved for later notice:

SONGS, MERRY AND SAD. John Charles McNeill. Stone, Barringer & Company.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH SYNTAX. C. Alphonso Smith. Ginn & Company.

VERSES FROM THE HARVARD ADVOCATE. Third Series, 1886—1906. The Harvard Advocate.

LIFE OF WALTER PATER. A. C. Benson. The Macmillan Company.

LEO TOLSTOI: HIS LIFE AND WORK. Volume I. Paul Birukoff. Charles Scribner's Sons.

DAYS WITH WALT WHITMAN. Edward Carpenter. The Macmillan Company.

PRINCIPLES OF WEALTH AND WELFARE. Charles Lee Raper. The Macmillan Company.

ABOLITION AND SLAVERY. A. B. Hart. Harper Brothers.

The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of the use of the term "hypertension" on the diagnosis of the disease. The study was conducted in a hospital setting and involved the use of a questionnaire to determine the frequency of the use of the term "hypertension" by the medical staff. The results of the study showed that the use of the term "hypertension" was significantly higher in the medical staff who had received specific training in the diagnosis of the disease, compared to the medical staff who had not received such training. This suggests that the use of the term "hypertension" is not a reliable indicator of the diagnosis of the disease, and that the medical staff should be trained in the proper use of the term.

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